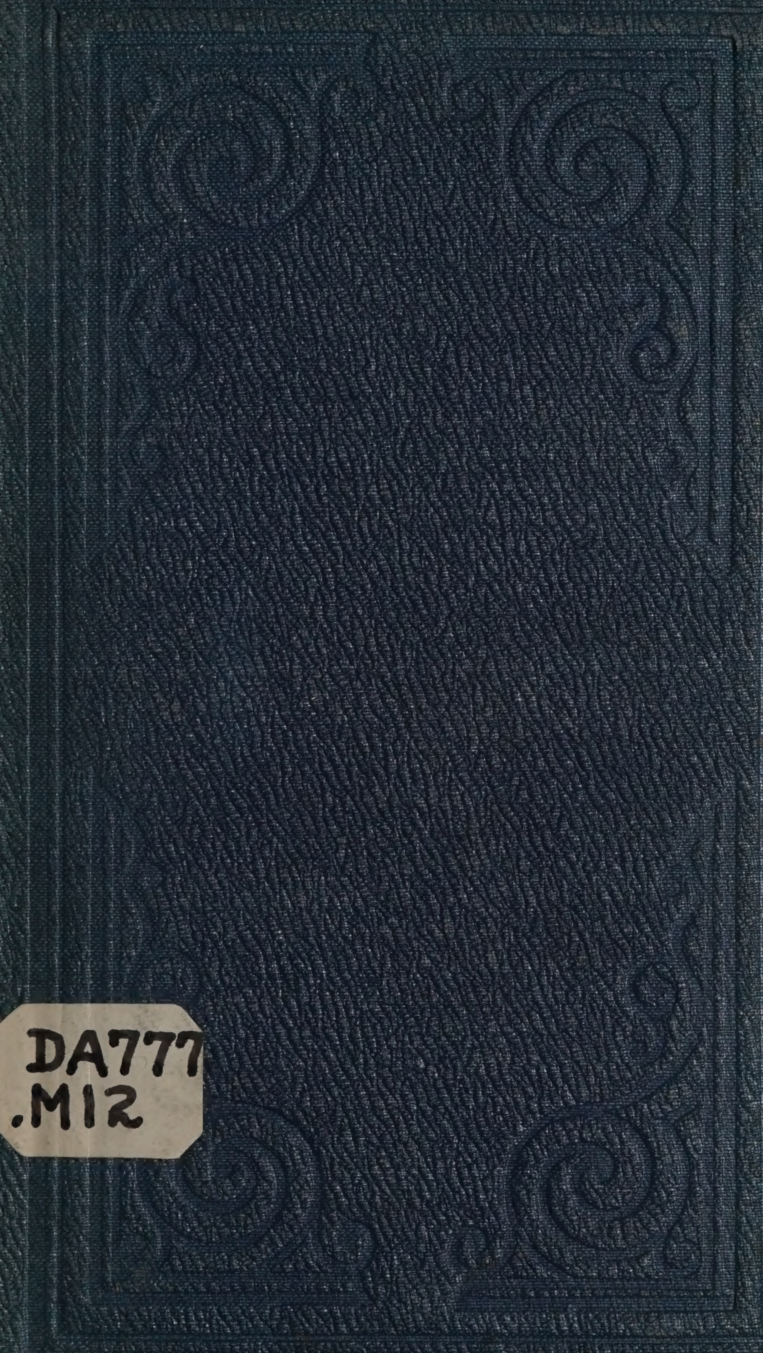

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE ANCIENT SCOTS.

In Three Parts.

THE HISTORY

OF

THE ANCIENT SCOTS.

In Three Parts:

I.

THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE NINTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH.

III.

THE HEBRIDES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF NORWAY.—SOMERLED.—CHIEFS DESCENDED FROM SOMERLED.

BY THE
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Author of the "History of the Culdees," &c. &c.
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JOHN MENZIES, EDINBURGH;
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1858.

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PREFACE.

There are three views in which the history of the Ancient Scots has been considered. The first is the fabulous; the second, confounding them and the Picts; and the third, what may be called the "dark age" of the Scots. Those who have looked no farther than the last, fancied the nation to have been just then emerging from barbarism; and they might have been heard comparing their ancestors with the native races of America. As this History comes not down to that unfavourable era, no notice shall be taken of the dim light in which the Scots appeared from the sixteenth century to the Union, a period of about two hundred years. It is not necessary to speak of the fabulous history, the writers of which have been fully exposed by Innes. Had they looked to the great nation of whom they were descended, they needed not to have sought elsewhere for higher antiquity.

The confused state in which the Scots and the Picts have been represented, may not be so easily described in tracing the origin of the Scots, since writers that should have known better, differ, and the least favourable account has been adopted by some eminent authors.

All that is stated in Part Second will admit of no dispute, as the history of the nation is simply narrated, with the lives of the kings who governed during the space of five centuries; and what relates to this period, but could not be conveniently inserted in the History, is given in Part Third.

Arisaig, *March* 3, 1858.

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT SCOTS.

PART. I.

THEIR ORIGIN—THE CELTÆ—THEIR INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS.

THE Scots, a colony of the Gauls.—Of all the colonies that first inhabited the British Isles, they alone had retained the name of the people from whom they descended, namely, Gauil, Gauls, contracted Gael. The Gauls were a powerful branch of the Celtæ,—the first great nation who came from the East, and first peopled the Western World. They appeared in the west of Europe at the dawn of history, beyond which no record of them need be looked for. But their language conveyed their history to posterity. It is the oldest in Europe,[1] and, in all probability, as old as any in the world. The Celtic is yet spoken in different kingdoms in the Old World, and in parts of the New.

To say that Gaelic or Hebrew was the language of Adam, indicates little knowledge of the Bible. The first language of the world was of Divine origin, and, like other good gifts, was perfect, as we find Adam giving names to all cattle, to the fowls of the air, and to every beast of the field.[2]

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[1] See Dr Blair's Lecture III. on Languages.

[2] Gen. ii. 20.

This was the language of the world till the building of Babel, during a long period of time, namely, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one years from the creation, "while the whole earth was of one language and of one speech."

During that long space of time, the human race spread not abroad over the earth, as was the intention of the Creator, when he gave man dominion over the irrational creation, to subdue them. It was not his will that this beautiful globe of fruit-trees, and trees bearing seed, should be a wilderness for ravenous animals. He blessed our first parents, saying: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth on the earth."[3] The increase of the human race must have been rapid and great, as we may infer from the long life they enjoyed. They could not be ignorant of the Divine intention, as they lost not the knowledge of the living God who made them. Methuselah lived till within a few years of the flood. But as man increased, they became wicked; they sought to do their own will, and disobeyed their Maker. After the Deluge, God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth."[4] Yet, in little more than a century after the destruction of all living except Noah and his family, notwithstanding the great increase of the human species, there appeared no intention of leaving the East. Nimrod began to exalt himself, and built a city, which was the foundation of the Assyrian monarchy; and after

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[3] Gen. i. 28.

[4] Gen. ix. 1.

Nineveh, the people began to build Babel. This was not according to the will of God, as he declares, that, instead of one people who would build a city and a tower, and would dwell in the plain of Shinar, he would have many tribes to spread over wide regions and desert countries; that the rational should have dominion over the irrational creation, should subdue the fierce animals, and domesticate wild beasts of the forest. The Almighty put a stop to the great undertaking; "so the Lord scattered the people abroad from thence upon the face of the earth."[5]

The one language so long spoken, was lost; no trace of it is to be found in the many languages since spoken: the confusion of languages put a stop to the vain, great building—the builders could not understand one another. We know not how many languages there were after this grand era, but we may condescend on three, which the posterity of the three sons of Noah spoke as they were scattered abroad, and might lay claim to the original; one of these, that is still a living tongue, has conveyed their history, so far as it is known, to posterity. It is of the language of the Celtæ we have to speak; but we may have occasion to observe the languages of the Shemetic and Hametic tribes in passing. The tribes took different routes as they were scattered from the tower of Babel. The Hebrews were of the tribe of Shem; but the Hebrew language had its name, if not its origin, from Heber,[6] who was in the fourth generation from Shem. Whether it was original, *i.e.* had its origin at the confusion of tongues, is not known. The descendants of Heber met with other tribes on their route: Terah, the father of Abraham, lived in Ur of the Caldees, and hence Caldaic or Syriac is found in the language of the Hebrews. From Ur he came to Haran, this tribe being already, or becoming idolaters. When the Lord called Abram from the house of his father and his kindred, to be the father of a chosen people, obeying God's call, he journeyed southward, with his wife Sarai, and his brother's son Lot, to the land of Canaan, which was promised to his seed.

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[5] Gen. xi. 8.

[6] St Luke iii. 35.

Mizraim, the grandson of Ham, led colonies to Egypt, and laid the foundation of a kingdom which lasted sixteen hundred and sixty-three years; whence Egypt is called the land of Ham, and the Egyptian Pharaohs boasted themselves to be the sons of ancient kings.

The Celtæ,[7] descended ftom Japhet, travelled in an opposite direction westward. All that can be said of their route is, that they seemed not to have met any other tribe on their way, and must have been under Divine guidance, as they separated not till their arrival in Europe. They were a great nation, divisible into many small tribes or septs, as appeared when they parted in Europe. They must have travelled through many vacant regions, in which they might have separated, were they not destined to people many places in this quarter of the globe.

How long the Celtæ journeyed, before they lost the knowledge of the living God, cannot be ascertained; but their language conveyed to us what is known of their institutions and laws. The Druids, their priests, had interwoven in their language much of their religious rites and customs, which the philologist clearly ascertains in the Celtic, the British, or the Gaelic.

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[7] Some say Keltæ, as the letter *c* sounds like *k*.

The Druids presided over all religious rites and ceremonies, taught the unity of Deity, and the immortality of the soul. It is alleged that they taught the migration of souls; this is doubtful, as they believed it to be immortal. It is certain they went not all the length of Pythagoras, who believed that the immortal part entered beasts and birds as well as human beings. Pompeius Mela argues that they could not believe in the migration of the rational soul and its immortality.

Many etymologies have been given of the term *Druid.* As they worshipped in groves, and the mistletoe had been held in such reverence, the common opinion has been that Druid is δρυς, which means *oak;* not adverting to the fact, that the Greeks and their language were not then in existence. The translators of the Gaelic Scriptures conceived better of the meaning of the word, when they called the wise men of the East *druidhean,* druids. The name arose from an internal quality, rather than a simile of an external object. The noun is from the verb *druidheadh,* to impress. They were like the Magi of the East. "The Celtæ," says Dr Murray, "had a regular and well instituted priesthood." "Their god," he adds, "was Dis or Dits,—in the Celtic, Be'il, a compound term, signifying the giver of life to all beings and things, animate and inanimate." They looked up to some of his works with reverence. Such was their veneration for all that was great in nature, that they thought them residences of intelligences, subordinate to their god. The Celtæ had no appropriate names for these, as we find Cæsar in his commentaries attributing to them.[8]

The Druids divided their religion into the mysterious and the popular. The mysteries were thought too sacred to be divulged. The people supposed these to have included what was above their comprehension, and regarded the priests as superior beings, and looked to them with awe and reverence, that made them submit implicitly to their mandates. The Druids publicly taught the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments. They likewise inculcated good morals. They admitted the creation of matter; they raised their minds to the highest contemplation and sublimest investigation, and regarded worldly things beneath their notice. They wished to inspire the people with contempt of death. They were sensible it was necessary to attach to their creed what inspired hope and fear. They had their heaven, the noble isle into which none could enter, or expect to reach, who wanted magnanimity and other heroic qualities. They not only presided over all religious rites, but likewise inculcated and impressed the excellent rules they framed; and they possessed the power to punish transgressors. Foolhardy must they have been who dared to disobey their spiritual instructors.

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[8] Lib. vi. 3.

The Druids were men of ability, of austere manners, and extensive knowledge. They were intrusted with the tuition of the young. All men of rank put their children under their care. The initiated were fifteen and twenty years acquiring all the knowledge the Druids had to impart. As all they learned was committed to memory, their lessons were in verse, to render the task more easy; they had in the course of their curriculum to commit 50,000 verses. The pupils who were endowed with poetical talents were put in the bardic class. They were the bards of future fame, and second in the sacerdotal order. Some of them were chiefs, who inspired the people with heroism, to enable them to perform feats of valour that entitled them to admission into the isle of heroes.[9] The spirit-stirring song roused men to acts almost supernatural. Still they trusted to the strength of their arm and magnanimity; they had no gods to protect them from the weapon of an enemy, nor did they depend on superior agency.

The Druids placed in the human frame a distinct intelligence, susceptible of happiness, and subject to misery, while they entertained a notion of divinity that gave life and motion to all nature. The primitive ideas of the Druids respecting their divinity, were not unlike those of the Brahmins, namely, that God is the soul that animates all nature; but, in their researches, they differed from the opinions of the Brahmins, who supposed the souls of men to be a portion of that irresistible principle which pervades and moves the whole body of the universe. The Druids believed in an evil spirit,—the destroyer. They were the first rank in society, but had an arch-druid, named Coivi, who presided over the priests in their religious ceremonies.

The Celts presumed not to represent their deity by human form, but typified him by objects. The priests always officiated in the open air; they had no idea of personality of deity. But what was appalling in their worship, was human sacrifice. They immolated human victims, persons infected with incurable disease, or condemned to suffer death, captives taken in war, and individuals who, owing to great misfortunes, vowed they would sacrifice themselves; but, failing of all these, they sacrificed the innocent.[10]

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[9] Flath-innis, isle of heroes,—the Celtic heaven. Iurinn or ifrinn, place of torment,—the Gaelic name of hell.

[10] In certain instances, this nation believed the wrath of the Deity

The Druids had their superstitions: they were astrologers and necromancers. They imposed on the people, and looked down on the vulgar as an inferior race. Other nations had also their magi and impostors.

The Druids were distinguished in various ways, in their dress, and austere manners. As they were the most learned, and ablest to make laws, which they made the people to obey, they were the legislators. The laws they committed to writing, though they made it illegal to commit what was taught by them to writing. Princes were next to them in rank. They possessed unlimited power, in peace and war. They elected magistrates, and deposed those they thought unworthy of the office. Princes could not enter on war without their consent; nor did they make peace without their approbation. They served not in war, and they were free of all public burdens. Their character was sacred; more than respect was paid them—they were venerated. Their impartiality was unquestionable; no selfish motive could induce them to desire what was not for general use. No others were so fit to perform their high functions; they engrossed all the knowledge of their time, and were conversant in all matters civil and religious.

The Druids were philosophers, and men of science;

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could not be appeased but by offering human sacrifice. Other nations entertained like belief, and resorted to similar rites, most abhorrent to human feelings, so that they resembled demons more than rational men. Even in later time some have been guilty of the horrid practice of offering human victims. Octavianus caused 300 men to be sacrificed on the altar of Cæsar (Sueton. c. 15, Dio Cassius, 48, 49.) Sextus Pompeius ordered that persons should be thrown into the sea as sacrifice to Neptune. Dio Cassius 47, 48. According to Porphery, (de *abstia carnis*, c. 56.) human sacrifices ceased to be offered in different nations at the instance of Herodian; but even in his day (about 280, A.D.) a human victim was yearly offered to Jupiter Latialis, in Rome.

they were astronomers, and knew geometry and arithmetic; but as their writings came not down to our times, the laws they enacted must be imperfectly known. It is doubtful whether they committed their mysteries to writing; but it was owing to the doctrines they taught, that Patrick and Columba were said to have destroyed what writings fell into their hands.

But notwithstanding the knowledge and sagacity of the Druids, they looked not far enough before them, when they trusted all their treasures of knowledge to memory. Although improved to the highest degree, they could not expect it would continue. Were they to make the most of the alphabet they composed, they should have permitted the use of it. The Celtic alphabet consists of eighteen letters. The Egyptians, who in the earliest times were distinguished by the arts and sciences, had but sixteen letters in their alphabet.[1]

Although Cæsar met with no Druids in Gaul or Britain, he made minute inquiries into their knowledge, which he says was profound. They discoursed of the stars and their motions; the magnitude of countries, the nature of things, and the power of the gods. Though the Druids taught astrology, and were not strangers to the arts of magic; though they pretended to be conversant with omens, and to see into futurity; although the vulgar believed they had power over the elements: it was their usefulness in the state, their retired habits, severe studies, and the progress they made in all the branches of learning, that acquired to them the highest honours, and obtained for them the greatest immunities. They were obeyed as superior judges.[2]

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[1] The common tradition is, that letters at first were transported into Greece by Cadmus the Phenician; but the most probable account is, that they took their rise in Egypt, the first civilized kingdom of which we have any authentic account. Plato expressly attributes the invention of letters to Theuth, the Egyptian. The Phenicians, though their commerce was extensive, were not known as inventors of arts and sciences. Moses, who received all the advantages of a liberal education, carried, in all probability, the Egyptian letters with him to the land of Canaan; and being adopted there by the Phenicians, who inhabited some of the country, they were transmitted from thence into Greece.

SEPARATION OF THE CELTÆ—GERMANY—GAUL—THE BRITISH ISLES.

At the confusion of languages, which put a stop to the building of Babel, the descendants of Noah were scattered in different directions. By the law of Nature, a body put in motion continues its course till stopped by a greater resisting power; but in the instance before us, we must look to a higher agency. The Celtæ, the first great migration to the West, consisted, as already observed, of many septs or families, kept together as by adhesion, till arrived at a point, and then broke asunder. The Western World was an empty wilderness, except where beasts of the forest abounded. The great nation dispersed through boundless regions and over illimitable tracts; yet how little of Europe could they then inhabit. It will not be expected that we will attempt to describe these, except so far as the nation whose history we narrate, has any concern. They spread over Germany and north of Scandia,—regions of wide extent. Another nation met the Celtæ on the confines of Germany, and gave them an impulsive motion southward. "Ancient Germany was divided on the west by the Rhine from the Gaulic provinces of the Roman empire, and on the south by the Danube from the Illyrian provinces of the same empire. It was divided and protected from Dacia or Hungary, by a ridge of hills called the Harpathian mountains, which rose from the Danube. The Hercynian forest, at that time reckoned impenetrable, and a frozen ocean, described by the ancients as lying beyond the Baltic, if they did not mean the Baltic itself, were the limits of Germany on the north and north-west. On the east the boundary was more faintly marked, or rather it was more frequently varying and confounded by the mixture of wavering and confederate tribes of the Germans and Sarmatians. From this description of the boundaries of ancient Germany, it will be seen that, independent of the province westward of the Rhine, which appears to have been a colony of Germans, settled within the limits of Gaul, it extended over a third part of Europe."[1]

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[2] Many of their institutions, as well as rites and ceremonies, were interwoven in their language, which conveyed them to later times, being a surer vehicle than memory and tradition.—See Robertson and other historians.

Germany then included Scandinavia. The ancient Germans, of whom neither Cæsar nor Tacitus makes mention, are distinctly marked in the last sentence of the above quotation as the Celtæ. They also inhabited Spain: the Celtiburians were those who settled on the banks of the Iberus.

The next division we are to notice inhabited Gaul,[2] now France, then of greater extent. The Gauls were a powerful branch of the Celtæ, and increased so fast as to have caused them to send colonies to the British isles and to more distant lands. The Celtæ kept longer possession of Gaul than of Germany. They possessed the whole country between the Pyrenees and the Alps, the Rhine and the ocean: the dutchy of Savoy, the cantons of Switzerland, and the fair electories of the Rhine; the territories of the Leige, Luxenburg, Hanault, Flanders, and Brabant. Beside the Celtic Gaul, lay the Belgic division beyond the Rhine.

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[1] Brewster's Encyclopædia.

[2] Gauls, the Celtæ; *c* and *g* being mutable letters in their alphabet, when *t* is omitted and the *g* substituted, we have Gaul, the name of the kingdom.

Julius Cæsar, in the first book of his Commentaries, divides all Gaul into three parts; the inhabitants, he says, being distinguished by languages, institutions, and laws. So did Gaul appear to him at first sight; but, when better known to him, he, in the sixth book, describes all Gaul as one nation. The different tribes differed only by dialects. He mentions two orders in the whole nation, the Druids and Princes. The tribes here, as elsewhere, commonly assumed names from localities; they sometimes varied accidentally. The Belgians, a warlike tribe, were so denominated from the armour they chiefly used in war,—the term Belgians meaning, men of quivers, archers. From the various appellations assumed in the different countries, the Celtic tribes would have become undistinguishable in the course of ages, especially after the decline of the Druids, but for their language, which they always spoke, wherever they proceeded, and which they lost only with liberty. For instance, an army under Brennus crossed the Helespont, and settled in Phrygia and Capadocia, bearing the name of Gauls,—Galatians. They went hither in the year 270 before Christ, and spoke the Celtic language in the days of Jerome, about six centuries after the migration. The apostle Paul addressed an epistle to them.[3]

When mixed with other nations, although hearing other languages, the Celts always spoke their own. Conquerors who took possession of a country, spoke their own language, which became predominant; yet the Celtic is found less or more in all places inhabited by them for any length of time. The descriptive copious language left monuments on land and water more durable than brass; their topographical names have remained after the lapse of ages and revolution of empires.

The British Isles have been first peopled from Gaul. The first colony, when landing in the south of the island, and beholding the land higher than the country they left, and rising above the waves, called it *Breatun*,[4] which it always retained; and, with the addition of the affix *ich*, were they henceforth called Breatunich,—Britons. The colonists that succeeded received the same appellation. The colony from Gaul that passed to the north of the island, seeing the high mountains, denominated the north *Albin*.[5] Ireland is from *Iar-inn*,[6] the island on the west, contracted Erin; with the additional *ich*, Erinich,—Irish. The colony that arrived in the north of the greatest island, in like manner, would be Albanich, and are at times so called; but they had chosen to retain the name of their people, Gauil,—Gauls, contracted Gael.

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[3] Dr Macknight, vol. ii. Rollin's Ancient History, lib. xvi. sec. 3.

[4] Braigh tuinn, above the waves; as Dunbreatun, &c.

[5] Alba, Albin, Alps, high mountains; *al* signifies high and rocky; *al*-beinn, high mountains, and also rocky: *b* and *p* are mutable, hence Alps.

[6] Erinich, Erin and the affix *ich*; also Albanich. In some words the letter *d* is inserted; for instance, *Cul*, retreat, Culdich, refugees, Culdees; we could not say Culich.

Let it be observed then, that Britons were at first the colonies from Gaul who inhabited the south of the island; and the Gauil, Gael, those who went to the north. The Romans called the whole island Britannia, hence North and South Britain. The Greeks, inserting the letter *o*, pronounced Albin, Albion, and extended it to the whole islands now called Great Britain.

We may observe in passing, that another tribe of the Gauls inhabited the highlands of the south of the island. This tribe was not from Gaul; they called themselves Cymbri, and were of the Celts who went at first to the country north of Germany, but being repulsed, came through Gaul to Britain, and acquired the appellation they now bear, Welsh.[7]

Several colonies from Gaul came to the south of the island, as is evident from the opinion of the posterity of the first colony who moved forward and inland, and believed they were indigenous, though those on the coast, opposite to Gaul, kept correspondence with their relatives, as Julius Cæsar alleged that his motive in crossing over to Britain was to chastise them for aiding their friends the Veneti.

More than one colony passed over to Ireland, as all know the first inhabitants of the Western Isle consisted of those who, like the Breatunich, took their name from Erin, as the Firbolg from the Belgians, who retained their name.[8] That they alike crossed at first into

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[7] *W* not being a letter in the Celtic alphabet, the name Welsh could not have been of an early date. Substitute *w* for *g* in Gaul, and you have *Waul*, and, with the affix *ich*, *Waulich*, or Welsh.

[8] Firbolg, Belgians,—men of quivers.

South Britain, and thence into Ireland, is most probable. The distance[9] from Gaul to Britain is about twenty miles, and from Britain to Ireland about sixteen. But there is no evidence that more than one colony passed to the north.

We cannot condescend on the dates of these colonizations from Gaul to the British isles.[10] They arrived not at the same time. Aristotle is the first writer of the ancients who at a known date, about 340 years before Christ, mentions the British islands by name. He says, "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the ocean flows round the earth. In this ocean, however, are two islands, and those very large, called Britannia, Albion and Iarne,"—(Great Britain was even then known to be two islands,) "which are larger than those mentioned, and that lie beyond the Celti. Moreover, not a few small islands, around the Britannian islands and Ibernia, encircle, as with a diamond, the earth."[11] Polybius, the historian, who wrote about 160 years before Christ, has the following passage: "Perhaps, indeed, some will inquire, why, having made so large discourse concerning places in Lybia and Iberia, we have not spoken more fully of the outlet at the Pillars of Hercules, nor of the interior sea, and of the peculiarities which occur therein; nor yet, indeed, of the Britannic Isles, and the working of tin; nor yet of the gold and silver mines of Iberia, concerning which writers, controverting each other, have discoursed very largely.[12]

These are almost all the references made by ancient writers to the British isles prior to the invasion of Julius Cæsar; but that they were long inhabited before those dates, there is no doubt, as traders came for tin, and pirates visited the coast. But the chronology of early times, uncertain as they must be, is of no great consequence, since we know for a certainty the origin and descent of the nations of the Celtæ. Aristotle's mention of the primitive names of the British isles accords with our etymology; and Polybius might have acquired his information respecting them from persons who visited Britain, as well as from earlier writers.

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[9] *Caolas* (Calais) signifies a narrow strait or passage.

[10] Great Britain and Ireland being called the British Isles, is a corroborative proof of the colonies landing in South Britain.

[11] De Mundo, c. iii.

[12] Hist. ii. 57.

As Julius Cæsar aspersed the moral character of the Britons, it is not impertinent to take notice of it in the History of the Scots, as all descended of the Celtæ lie under the same charge,—namely, that the sexes lived in common. Tacitus does not countenance this assertion; Gibbon repels the charge by a force of arguments; and other writers bear testimony to the chastity and humanity of the Britons, who had the highest respect for their wives. The Druids, their teachers and priests, inculcated good morals; and their authority over all classes in society would have compelled them to observe their rules. As noticed above, the first inhabitants of the north of this island retained the name of their people, and are to this day in their own language called Gael. How they acquired the name Scots will be shortly mentioned; the term is not Celtic, as will be observed in the proper place. As the first confusion arose in their history chiefly from the name, we quote what Dr Blair says on the subject,—an authority higher than Pinkerton or others of his class.

"That the ancient Scots were of Celtic origin is past all doubt. Their conformity with the ancient nations, in language, manners, and religion, proves it to full demonstration. The Celtæ, the great and mighty people, altogether distinct from the Goths and Teutones, extended their dominions over all the west of Europe, but seemed to have had their most full and complete establishment in Gaul. Wherever the Celtæ, or Gauls, are mentioned by ancient writers, we seldom fail to hear of their druids and their bards; the institution of which two orders were the capital distinction of their philosophers and priests,—the bards, their poets, and recorders of heroic actions; and both these orders of men seem to have subsisted among them as chief members of the state, from time immemorial. We must not, therefore, imagine the Celtæ to have been altogether a gross and rude nation. They possessed, from very remote ages, a formed system of discipline. Ammianus Marcellinus gives them this express testimony, that there flourished among them the study of the most laudable arts, introduced by the bards, whose office it was to sing in heroic verse the gallant actions of illustrious men; and by the Druids, who lived together in colleges or societies, after the Pythagorean manner, and philosophizing upon the highest subjects, asserted the immortality of the soul."—*Critical Diss. on Ossian's Poems, p.* 67.

THE TEUTONES OR SARMATÆ—THE GOTHIC RACE IN THE WESTERN ISLES.

The next great migration from the East appeared on the north of Europe. They were denominated Teutones[1] and Sarmatæ.[2] Sarmatia, the country that they first possessed on the north of Europe and Asia, is very extensive, and divided into European and Asiatic. The European division, bounded by the ocean on the north, Germany and the Vistula on the west, the Sizyges on the south, and Tanais on the east. The Asiatic bounded by Hyrcanea, the Tanais, and the Euxine Sea. The former contains the modern kingdom of Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Little Tartary; and the latter, Great Tartary, Circassia, and the neighbouring country. The Sarmatians were a savage people, an uncivilized nation, often confounded with the Scythians; naturally warlike, and famous for painting their bodies, to appear more terrible in the field of battle. They were well known for their lewdness, and they passed among the Greeks and Latins by the name of barbarians. In the time of the Emperors they became very powerful; they disturbed the peace of Rome by their frequent incursions, till at last, increased by the savage hordes of Scythia, under the barbarous names of Goths, Alans, &c., they successfully invaded and ruined the great Empire, in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. They generally lived in the mountains, without any habitation except their chariots, whence they have been called *Hamaxobii.* They lived upon plunder, and fed on milk, mixed with the blood of horses.[3]

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[1] Teutones, *Tuath daoine*, men of the north.—James Macpherson, Esq.

Tacitus, who makes no mention of the most ancient Germans the Celtæ, any more than Julius Cæsar, seems to have described more of their manners than of the Teutones. He indeed says they had no Druids; yet the description he gives of their priests and deities, pertains more to the Celtic sacerdotal order. Thor was their great divinity, whom the Romans imagined to be the thunderer, their own Jupiter ; but little is known of their religious rites or superstitions, till the era of Odin or Woden, in the third century of the Christian religion. From him has been derived the genealogy of the gods and heroes of the Anglo-Saxons. Odin, the chief deity of the Scandinavians, was the god of the Scythians. Sigga, a Scythian prince, is said to have undertaken a distant expedition, and after subduing several of the Sarmatian tribes, to have penetrated to the northern part of Germany, and from thence to Scandinavia. He assumed the honours of deity, and the title of Odin, his national divinity. He is said to have conquered Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to have given wise and salutary laws to the nations he had subdued by his arms. Before his time, these nations were savage and cruel. Beside Odin, their other divinities were Hortha, who was benign ; Faul, an evil deity ; and Elfa, a fancied female, handsome, and the mother of a numerous brood of the same light bodied progeny of elves. The northern tribes were cruel and bloody. Their heaven was Valhalla, where they joined their god Odin ; their chief happiness there being to drink ale from the skull of their enemy.

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[2] Sarmatæ. See Dr Murray, country Sarmatia.

[3] Fh. 7. M. 2, 4; Diod. ii.; Fl. iv. 12; Luc. 1; Jov. 2.

But Tacitus not only regards the Teutones, or Sarmatæ, as the ancient Germans, but describes them as the aborigines of the country. His chief argument is to prove that the Germans, whose history he writes, were indigenous ; that no man in his senses would have left Africa, Asia, or the south of Europe, to settle in so dismal a region.

The philosophical historian is of as high authority as the infallible Church of Rome, but he is not so explicit as Cæsar, in his history of the Germans. Tacitus had his information of the war in Britain from his father-in-law, Agricola, and, abating some partiality, must have been well informed. We know not whence he had his information of the Germans, but the source must have flowed to Rome with the Goths and Vandals.

We say no more of the language, the customs, and the religion of the Teutones, than that they totally differed from those of the Celtæ. They differed also in another particular: the latter were one people, a great family or nation; the former embraced many. The Goths were a distinct race, of whom a colony made their way to the Western Isles. Those were Scythians,[4] and we know not how many others. They all were nomadic; roaming over mountains, and crossing seas, straits, and great rivers. They had their vessels and their sails, before the Celtic tribes knew any other than currochs. To the northern races the latter were chiefly indebted for the naval art: it was all they benefited from the invaders who descended on their coasts for plunder.

The Western Isles, to the number of twenty-four,[5] were at first taken possession of by a race whom the Gael called *Gaill*, strangers,—a proof that the Gael were the aborigines, and observed their arrival. When they erected these into a kingdom they called it Hebudæ,[6] in honour of their leader, Hubba. The letter *h* was afterwards dropped, and *u* changed into *e*, Ebudæ, and corrupted into Hebrides, which since has been the name of all the Western Isles.

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[4] The Scythians spread over Scandia, or Scandinavia, to which country they gave the name Scythia.—*Simonides.*

[5] *Ceithean eileana fichead innse-gall*—four-and-twenty islands of the strangers.

[6] Pinkerton says that the Hebuds were at first the kingdom of the Pikish, before they landed on the north and west of Scotland.

The two tribes then and for some time, were Gael and Gaill, under which appellations we must regard them for some time. Of the language and superstition of the Gothic race we know as little as of the Sarmatæ. On their first appearance in the north, they probably had left their people before Odin was deified.[7]

The Gothic race carried the propensity of their people along with them, and, although their kingdom of twenty-four islands might have contained them for a length of time, yet, on finding that their neighbours on the mainland had herds and flocks, they could not withstand the temptation of appropriating a part of them to themselves.

It was essential to carry arms even where there was no dread of enemies, as the woods and wilds were full of ravenous animals, which they had to subdue, and guard their flocks from: thus were they ready to meet the strangers, and strife commenced between the Gael and the Gaill at the earliest period of their meeting. The Gaill often landed, and used their endeavours to plunder; nor were they always repulsed with empty hands. They grew more bold, and took possession of parts of the country that were thinly inhabited or forsaken for a time. As it was the custom of the Gael to remove with their herds and flocks from place to place, there were always vacancies, of which the Gaill took possession; and when they returned, the Gael might not find it easy to dispossess them. No two people could be more dissimilar in habits. The one lived by the produce of their herds and flocks; the other by plunder. There was space enough in the north, were the two races to be content with their own; and they had in common the herds of the mountains and the fowl of the air, and water: they knew no other nation, no other enemy to disturb or dispossess them. But they could never agree together. The strangers were intruders, and could not be expelled. They seldom settled long in any place, and, if repulsed from one part, they easily found a vacant space elsewhere. The great increase of either race should make us suppose there was more strife than mortality among them; not but they made use of their warlike weapons, for these were kept in constant exercise.

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[7] Another account of Odin is, that he flourished about 70 years before the Christian era. This celebrated person was said to have been priest, poet, and monarch. He was a great conqueror. He imposed on the credulity of his superstitious countrymen, making them believe he could raise the dead to life, that he was acquainted with futurity. When he extended his power, and increased his fame by conquest and persuasion, he resolved to die in a manner different from other men. He assembled his friends, and, with the sharp point of a lance, he made on his body nine wounds, in the form of a circle, and as he expired, he declared that he was going into Scythia, where he should become one of the immortal gods. He farther added, that he would prepare bliss and felicity for such of his countrymen as lived a virtuous life, who fought with intrepidity, and who died like heroes on the field of battle. These injunctions had the desired effect; his superstitious countrymen believed him, and commended themselves to his protection when they engaged in battle, entreating him to receive their souls when fallen in war, into Valhalla, where they would drink mead from the skulls of their enemies.

The habits of the Teutones were hereditary. Their propensities for plunder were like the instincts of animals of prey, they could not be eradicated; and their warlike habits were likewise as strong; they deemed not the one disgraceful, nor the other dishonour-able; both were their calling. The Celtæ, while they were inspired by their bards to perform noble actions, often surpassed themselves, in the hope of of being admitted into the isle of heroes. Yet they considered tending herds and flocks not below the dignity of the first in rank; in this respect they resembled the Hebrew patriarchs. But they condemned the mean propensity of plunder, and called the *Gaill* pilferers.[8] The Gothic race regarded *their* occupation as mean, and gave them the sobriquet, *Scuits*,[9] wanderers. These terms of reproach were so frequently used, as to have made them almost forget their primitive names in the islands.

As the two tribes increased in numbers, and grew in strength, they seized and possessed large portions of the north of the Island, till they occupied the whole; not, we may believe, without contest. But the first inhabitants had always the ascendancy. The Gothic race never occupied more than a third of Albin, even when they became a distinguished nation, under the appellation of the Picts.

Between the two nations it would be difficult to draw a line of demarcation. Druim-Albin is said to have divided them; but, in their interminable wars, they alternately gained and lost possession.

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[8] *Piocuich*, Picts, is literally pilferers, thieves.

[9] *Scuite*, signifying wanderer, in the lowest sense; which term was cast into the teeth of the Gael as often as they applied *piocuich* to the unscrupulous pilferers: Scuits, Scots; hence their country, Scotia. A century has not passed since the Highlanders pursued, on a smaller scale, the occupation of their ancestors. In summer their wives and children went with their cattle to the shielings in the cories and glens of their mountains. There were no landmarks. They often removed to better pasture, as the present became bare or soiled. They carried their bed-clothes with them, and erected new bothies wherever they stopped. They lived happy, and brought home the dairy store in the fall of the year, when the men returned wlth salted fish and venison; the straths were preserved for winter pasture.

They were, during many centuries, unknown to the rest of the world. We find the Gael mentioned under the sobriquet *Scots*, in the third century, and in the fourth frequently, when the meaning of the term was unknown or forgotten; but the name of Scotland scarcely appears in any approved historian before the sixth. From that time the country became known to foreigners as Scotia, and the whole kingdom has been denominated Scotland for the space of a thousand years; but the Gaelic Scots still call it Albin.[1]

THE ROMANS AND CALEDONIANS.

The Scots and the Picts were the inhabitants of the north at the time of the Roman invasion, but they were not then known under those names; nor were the latter known at all to the Romans, who called the men who opposed them Caledonians, and their country Caledonia.[2] Since Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, 55 B.C. till the Romans made a province of the south of the island, more than a century passed. Cæsar found the Britons advanced above the state of barbarians. They made strenuous opposition before they yielded their liberty, but the Roman discipline prevailed in the course of their struggle, being about 130 years. "The Britons," says Gibbon, "had strength without union." The tolerant spirit of the Romans has been much applauded; the Britons had not cause to say so: they slew their priests, —well aware that, while the Druids had the influence and power, though they might have conquered the Britons, they could not hope to have subdued them. This was their policy for the massacre of the Druids in the island of Anglesea, in which they had their famous college.

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[1] Goodall.

[2] Caledonia.—Many etymologies have been given of this term by Buchanan, Chalmers, &c. James Macpherson was the first who undertook to explain the compound word. He says, *Cael-dun*, instead of *daoine*, viz. men of Gaul; *dun* is hill.

It would be foreign to our subject to enlarge further on the affairs of Britain during the period of time specified. We have only to add, that the Druids were everywhere on the decline, after their celebrated seat of learning was destroyed, and shortly after, druidism gradually faded before the light of the Christian religion. It was the full intention of the Romans to subdue the whole island of Great Britain, as we shall soon see. During the interval of more than a century, while subduing the South, the Roman legions had not been able to penetrate into North Britain, though the emperors resolved to have the whole island conquered and subdued: the able commanders, to whom the south of the island had yielded, had been thwarted by the bravery of the people, and a variety of objects rendered their efforts ineffectual. Agricola assumed the command of the Roman army in 78. He spent 79 and 80 in subduing the tribes on the south of the Solway Firth, hitherto unconquered; and, in the year 81, Agricola entered on the fourth campaign, by marching into North Britain, he having reached the narrow isthmus between the Firth of Clyde and the Forth,[3] across which, he threw a line of fortification, for the defence of the country to the south. The historian says, the enemy were removed as into another island. But Agricola having still enemies in his rear, who inhabited the south-western parts of North Britain, resolved, before pushing his conquest farther to the north, to subdue these northern tribes. The fifth campaign, in 82, was undertaken with this view. "He, therefore, invaded," says his historian, "that part of Britain which is opposite to Ireland," being the whole extent of Galloway, both by sea and land. A landing from the fleet, which had been brought from the Isle of Wight, was effected within the loch near Braw, at the Lochermouth, which forms a natural harbour. Difficulties, which would have been almost insurmountable to any other commander, vanished before the genius and perseverance of Agricola, who opened a passage through the marsh and wood of Lochermoss, by felling the trees which obstructed the progress of his army, and making a causeway of the trees cut down, over which he marched his army."

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[3] The *Glotta* and *Bodotria* of Tacitus.

Having accomplished the subjugation of those two tribes, Agricola made preparations for the next campaign, which he was to open beyond the Forth in the summer 83. He began by surveying the coasts and sounding the harbours on the north side of the Forth by means of his fleet; as, according to Tacitus, the country beyond the Forth was the great object of Agricola; and, as the latter appears to have been aware of the resistance which had been prepared for him by the Caledonians, if he should attempt to cross the estuary, it is supposed, and is most probable, that he employed his fleet in transporting the army across the Forth, from as convenient a station as he could select, without being perceived by the enemy; and it is certain that the seamen were frequently mixed with the cavalry and infantry, in the same camp, after Agricola arrived among the Horestii. The Romans called the country north of the Forth, Caledonia, the inhabitants Caledonii. Tacitus calls them Britons,—the name that properly belonged to those in the south of the island. Helephus tells us the Caledonians occupied, in the third century, Caledonia, which he describes as a barren mountainous country, and savage plains. The names of Scots and Picts being yet unknown in history, they went under the general term Caledonii.

When the celebrated commander came first in contact with the inhabitants, he and his army must have been not a little disappointed in their expectations of making a quick conquest of them. The mountaineers surprised, and nearly destroyed, the ninth legion, and spread the greatest terror among the Romans. They were reported to be actually on their march from the west to attack the forts in the rear of the Romans. "The tribes inhabiting Caledonia," says Tacitus, "rising in arms with vast preparations, increased by fame, as is the case conceived of unknown nations, being reported to have attacked the forts, inspired the greatest terror, having had commenced offensive operations. Many of the Romans proposed to return to the south of the Forth, lest they should be disgracefully driven back by the new enemy. But Agricola, noways intimidated, divided his army into three divisions during his campaign across the country, to prevent their attempt on the fortifications on the isthmus. The Caledonians, perceiving they could not cut them off from the line, suddenly changed their plans; and, falling unexpectedly with their whole force on the ninth legion in the night, nearly overwhelmed it. Agricola himself hastened with assistance: a dreadful conflict ensued in the gates of the camp. The Caledonians were at last compelled to relinquish their prey, and made the best of their way to their fens and fortresses."

Agricola, in his next campaign, resolved to invade the powerful states, as Tacitus calls those beyond the Forth, by land and sea, the army marching along the coast, the fleet, by way of precaution, attending them. They seemed to have established themselves in snug quarters for the winter, being supplied by their fleet. The Romans were engaged in the conquest of Fife, Stirling, and the Lowlands of Perth. The Caledonians took the alarm, and entered into a formidable confederacy with their inveterate enemies, the Gothic race. Laying aside their animosities, and considering their mutual interest, they joined their forces in defence of their country, and to preserve their liberty.

The Romans had conquered and subdued almost the known world; their legions were thought invincible; no foes could stand their discipline. The two nations of the North were aware of their danger, but they were fierce and fearless, partaking of the spirit and courage that made them maintain habitual contest among themselves. The armour and discipline of the Romans surpassed theirs, but impetuosity and indomitable spirit bore down superior forces. The Caledonians used their spears, swords, and daggers; they also used axes and arrow-heads. It appears the Caledonians were not deficient in warlike mail; they had their helmets and shields. The chiefs alone used the helmet and chariot. Notwithstanding all, their armour of defence was not so complete as that of the Romans; and to this must be attributed the disproportion of the slain on both sides in the ensuing battle, though it might not have been what was stated. Writers have enumerated no fewer than twenty-one tribes in North Britain; but the general distinction was between two nations that were as yet unknown in history, and only known to the invaders as one people, and who were determined to make a bold stand for their liberty. They sent their wives and children to places of safety. They had chosen a chief, named Galgacus[5] by Tacitus, who was to command the whole army. He was of high rank, of great renown and experience.

Agricola was sensible of the resistance he was to meet, and had strengthened his army with British auxiliaries from the south. He marched through Fife in summer 84, sending, at the same time, his fleet round the eastern coast, to support him in his operations, and to distract the attention of the Caledonians. He marched towards the Grampians hills, which he saw at a distance before him as he debouched from the Ochils. By an easy march he reached the moors of Ardoch, from which he descried the Caledonian army, to the number of thirty thousand men, encamped on the declivity of the hill, which began to rise from the north-western corner of Ardoch. Agricola was determined to strike a great blow, and was glad to meet the enemy on the battle-field. It was in the end of summer 84 that the Romans, the conquerors of the world, and the Caledonians, met in hostile array at the base of the Grampian mountains. The latter waited the march of

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[4] Galgacus; his Gaelic name was Goll; he was of the tribe of Mac Morni, and a Caledonian.

Agricola. They fought under their respective leaders, Galgacus being the commander-in-chief.

The Romans, including the auxiliaries, might be of equal number. Agricola took his station at the great camp, which adjoins the fort of Ardoch on the northward. From this camp Tacitus informs us that Agricola drew out his army on the neighbouring moor, having a large ditch of considerable length in front. Galgacus drew up his army on the face of the hill, one line rising above another from the plain, making a magnificent and terrible display of their powers to the enemy. The level ground in front was scoured by the cavalry, intermixed with armed chariots. The famous speech of Galgacus, as told by Tacitus, is too long for insertion. The Romans, as might be expected, under the greatest, and, we may add, the best of their generals, were on the other side, drawn out with consummate skill. They fully expected the day would decide the fate of the natives, drawn out from their fens, and rocks, and woods, upon the plain.[5]

They fought on both sides with great bravery, and the battle was well contested. The fight was kept up with great obstinacy, but the Romans an length prevailed, more by discipline than valour. But although the Caledonians finally gave way, and fled in every direction, the pursuers suffered as well as the pursued. The Caledonians were not conquered, nor were their spirits broken. Although the Romans claimed the victory, it is certain that a check was given to the progress of the conqueror; a damp was thrown on the ardour of the legions that were to conquer the whole island.

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[5] Some writers allege that the Caledonians had been indebted to their poverty and inaccessible rocks for their liberty. Here, in the open field, they opposed their valour to the disciplined legions of Rome.

The account of the fallen on both sides differs so much that the correctness of it has been called in question. The loss of the British auxiliaries has been overlooked. The numbers stated, 10,000, and 350, must certainly have been exaggerated on the one side, and underrated on the other; nor would the fallen of the British, were their number known, have made the whole probable: the auxiliaries of the Romans were 8,000. A great slaughter is usually made in the pursuit; here it was not so. After making all allowances for armour and discipline, the hostile armies being nearly of equal numbers, fighting to the close of the day, with not unequal valour, must have suffered in a degree not so incomparable. Had the Caledonians sustained so heavy a loss as a third of their army, they would not have been able to make head against the victorious army, and Agricola would have followed up his victory; but, instead of taking the advantage, he immediately retreated He was sensible of the danger of wintering among a hostile nation; he found it impossible to advance or retain his position during the ensuing inclement season, so he retraced his steps, and, after taking hostages from the *Horestii*, recrossed the Forth, and took up his winter quarters on the south of the Tyne and Solway. The field of the famous battle of the Grampians has been made a subject of controversy, but Ardoch is in all probability the scene.

Agricola was a great general, of deep thought, and enlarged views. He well understood the use to be made of victory, and treated the vanquished with humanity. Were he to be continued in his command in Britain, would he have succeeded in his intention of subduing the Caledonians? It might be thought he would; but the experience of an emperor who was determined to extirpate the whole race to the Ultima Thule, and proceeded farther than Agricola, with greater forces and absolute authority, make us conclude Agricola would not. The Caledonians had learned from dear experience that it was not their interest to contend in the open field. Whether they and the Gothic race maintained the confederacy any longer than was essential to them in opposing force to force, is uncertain, but they adopted and observed the same policy that was practised against the emperor Severus, and they united in their enterprises against the "king of the world," as they styled the Roman emperors, when they broke over the walls of the Romans, and assailed them in their turn.

Had Agricola been continued longer in Britain, it is likely he would have added Ireland to the empire of the world. Were the statement made to him by a chief who fled to him from the Western Island, correct, that a legion, with the disaffected, would be sufficient to conquer the whole island, he would have made it an easy conquest. But Agricola was, through the jealousy of the emperor Domitian, recalled from his government, under the pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria, but, in reality, out of envy on account of the glory which he had obtained by the success of his arms. He was superseded in 85. The honour of higher promotion was never conferred, and he died in August 93, some supposed from poison, others attributed his death to the effects of chagrin at the unfeeling treatment of Domitian. He was lamented by his survivors; and his actions, as recorded by his biographer, prove him to have been a great general.

It has been asserted that the fleet which accompanied the army during these campaigns, sailed round the island, and first discovered Great Britain to be one island. This is not true: there are many proofs to show that it was known to be an island before the Romans invaded Britain. We have already mentioned Aristotle's knowledge of it in 340 B.C., and many others might be instanced, were it necessary. But the fleet sailed round the Mull of Cantire and the point of Ardnamurchan, proceeding northward till in sight of some of the northern islands,—probably Orkney and Shetland,—that they supposed to be the *Ultima Thule.*

We have said that Agricola had very enlarged views. He saw how convenient Ireland lay between Spain and Great Britain, and would have made the island subservient to the ambition of the emperors. After Agricola's departure, there was an interval of thirty years before the Romans again troubled the inhabitants of the North. The nations, now free of the apprehension of foreign enemies, looked at one another with jealousy; and, though they had no conflicts, mingled little in society, nor cultivated friendship. Increasing in number and power, they meditated revenge, and entertained the hope of enriching themselves by plunder from the South. The high spirit of the one race, and the hereditary propensity of the other, buoyed them with hope, of which they were sure to reap the fruits, were they united.

The Emperor Adrian visited Britain, A.D. 121, to correct abuses and restore tranquillity. He built a rampart between the Firth of Solway and the Tyne, as security against the refractory tribes in the South, who could not be restrained by the military posts between the Forth and Clyde. Antoninus assumed the purple after Adrian. He appointed Lullius Urbicus his lieutenant in Britain. It was during the government of Urbicus, that the second Roman wall was erected, which extended from Carron on the Forth, to Dunmaglas on the Clyde. Its length was 63,980 yards, and was defended by nineteen forts. This stupendous rampart was intended to overawe the tribes that lived on the south side, as well as stop the incursions of those on the north.

The Romans finding the conquest of Caledonia doubtful, began to contract the limits of their sway in Britain, and, during the reign of the Emperor Aurelian, evacuated the military station of the wall of Antoninus.

In 180, the Scots and Picts broke the wall of Adrian, to retaliate on the invaders of their country. In 198, they made an incursion to the South, but being attacked by Marcellus, they retired into the mountains. The Romans neither derived glory nor advantage in repelling the predatory incursions of the northern tribes, they therefore made a treaty with those turbulent people in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Severus. The peace continued seven years. Lupus, the general of Severus, not being able to make head against the Scots and Picts, ransomed the prisoners captured. This proved but a temporary remedy ; they renewed their ravages with more fury than ever, seven years after the treaty of 200. This proceeding made Severus hasten from Rome to Britain in the following year, notwithstanding his age and infirmities. Hearing of his arrival, the tribes sent deputies to him, to negociate for peace ; but the emperor, who was of a warlike disposition, and fond of military glory, would not hear any proposals. He repaired the wall built by Adrian, that he might be protected in case of a retreat, and advanced with a formidable army in 207. He speedily passed the northern wall, and entered Caledonia,—resolved to penetrate to the remotest extremity of the island, and put an end to the power of the Caledonians. These, having had experience of the discipline of the legions from the time of Agricola, avoided a pitched battle, but kept an incessant and harassing warfare on all sides. They removed into their fastnesses; allowed the emperor to waste his strength in cutting down wood, making roads, and draining marshes, while a part of the army were guarding the workmen from the attacks of the Caledonians, with whom they had frequent skirmishes. The natives never appeared in a body, but contented themselves by hanging on the line of march, intercepting supplies, making desultory attacks, and lying in ambuscade; making the invaders severely suffer for their temerity in entering a country of wood, fens, and rocks. The emperor lost 50,000 men in this expedition.

A.D. 210. Instead of sueing for peace, and delivering their arms, as some writers allege, the Caledonians made a desperate attempt to wrest out of the hands of Severus the territories taken and held by him. He sent another army under his son Caracalla, to extirpate the Caledonians, but, dying at York shortly after, Caracalla entered into a treaty of peace with them, restored the territories taken by his father, and abandoned the forts erected to enforce submission. The wall of Antoninus was fixed as the boundaries of the Romans. After this the Scots and Picts gave no trouble to them during a century.

The Caledonians, benefiting by the example of the invaders, employed themselves in cutting down wood, draining marshes, making roads, and cultivating the land. There has been no account of internal troubles or disturbances handed down to posterity. Thus did the invaded learn from those that oppressed and tried to subdue them.

The convulsions of the Empire rendered it necessary to withdraw the troops that guarded the Roman wall. This was soon observed by the Scots and Picts, who were not long in taking advantage of the defenceless state in which it was left, and retaliating on the aggressors. Little has been said of religion during the space of time since Christianity was introduced into Britain. We are told that the Gospel was preached in North Britain about the end of the second century, as well as in the South. We may easily conceive refugees, flying from the bloody persecution of the emperors into all parts; that those who came to South Britain would be desirous of going beyond the reach of their power; and many making their way to the North. Wherever Christians fled, there were persons among them to preach the Gospel. Those among the refugees in this island were the Culdees, the elders, who preached and explained the word. They were quiet, peaceable persons, who interfered not in temporal affairs; but while so little known or observed by the world, they laboured in the vineyard with zeal, and tilled the ground they held in possession by their own hands; they burdened no one.

In 306, Constans found it necessary to repair to Britain in person, to repel the attacks of the Caledonians. The Romans were successful; but their general dying at York, the Scots and Picts again uniting, made an incursion into the South.

In the reign of the emperor Valentinian, they made a general attack on the Roman province, and advanced as far as London, which they plundered; but, being attacked by Theodosius, they retreated. They, however, growing bolder as the Roman power became weaker in Britain, invaded and harassed the provinces. They envied the wealth, and admired the horses of the king of the world, *i.e.* the Roman emperor. In their extremity, the Britons applied to Rome, and a legion was sent to their assistance. The foes were overmatched; as they were laden with spoil, and burdened, they were overthrown in every encounter. The Romans repaired the fortifications for the last time, and informed their allies that, in future, they were to depend on their own valour; they then took leave of them, having been their masters nearly four hundred years.

In their last extremity where could they look for aid? The Romans had more to do at home than they could manage. Though the Britons could lay some claim to affinity with the Caledonians, they could not expect aid from those they had themselves, as auxiliaries of the Romans, before invaded. The Britons, left weak and helpless by the once all-powerful Romans, instead of defending themselves by guarding the walls, invited the Anglo-Saxons into their kingdom. With their aid, the invaders of the North were repulsed. But they had cause to repent of their policy of receiving foreigners into their bosom. These, under various pretences, sent for more forces of their own country, till Germany was almost depopulated. The Britons soon felt the effect of their error; and, notwithstanding all they bestowed on their auxiliaries, they could not make them content. The Germans obtained settlements; but no less than the whole country would have satisfied them. The Britons, when too late, assumed the spirit of their ancestors, and many a bloody battle was fought. They began to manufacture arms, and to use them with success. Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, deluged the country; still the Britons persevered in resisting them, during a hundred and thirty years.

The Jutes left the country to the Angles and Saxons, who conquered the nation, and persecuted the Christians. The one gave the name, and the other the language, to the country,—namely, England and Saxon. The language of this nation received a mixture of the British, and, afterwards, of the languages of those who conquered both races in their turn. It was in the beginning of the seventh century that Ethelfrid, a Northumbrian prince, entirely subdued the weakened Britons. The most of them were dispersed into various foreign countries. Some of them were allowed to remain in remote places. The Culdees, on whom the idolaters had no compassion, fled to Ireland, Wales, and North Britain. The last were received by the brethren, and they strengthened their hands. Nothing could have shown more manifest the irreconcilable condition of the Scots and Picts, than Christianity professed universally by the one, and peremptorily refused by the other. The ardent zeal of the Culdees, and the temporary alliances of the two nations, were not sufficient to make the Gothic race receive the Gospel.

The Scots and Picts, expelled from the South, were driven beyond the Roman walls. Ethelfrid, the Saxon prince, crossed the Forth and Tay, and advanced into

Caledonia, where he received a defeat; few of his men escaped. The Tweed for a time then became the boundary. The Picts made an irruption into the South, but in their turn were defeated, and lost their King Brideus. The Scots and Picts having lost all hope of conquest, and even of booty, in the South, no longer observed the confederacy that enabled them to have made an effectual opposition to the Roman conquerors; they generally lived in quietness, though occasional conflicts or desultory warfare was practised within their own bounds.

Meantime, the Scots were making progress in knowledge. The arts and sciences were cultivated in the province of Valentia. The Culdee teachers, who were not warlike nor worldly, attended to literature, both sacred and profane, and made more use than others of the benefits conferred by the Romans on their provinces. Valentia extended from the Tyne and Eden, to the Forth and Clyde, and was the only one of the Roman provinces in Britain that now enjoyed undisturbed the blessings of religion. The Romans had established towns, and divided the provinces into districts; and in Valentia the primitive clergy reaped the first-fruits of their labours. But the whole population benefited by the example of the Romans; settled in localities, they learned to live on the produce of their industry. The Scots benefited most; the Picts were illiterate; nor would they be enlightened; they despised learning. They were heathens, and hated the Culdees. All the zeal of the teachers of truth availed little among a race whose superstition was ill understood. Their natural propensities to theft brought them so often in contact with the Scots, that the peace which was so desirable to all who were following useful pursuits, was frequently disturbed; so that, from the time the Scots and Picts relinquished all hopes of spoil and conquest in the South, the two nations lived in the North in a state that cannot be well described. They were not at peace, nor open war. What is singular is, that when united in opposing invasion, or making incursions, they were distinct tribes, as different in their habits as in their languages. When we look at the long lists of kings of both nations, the one is entirely Gael in name and signification, as every Gaelic scholar knows, the other Gothic.

THE ERINICH AND ALBINICH.

We have no evidence that the Gothic race, who first possessed the Western Islands, extended their kingdom south beyond the Point of Ardnamurchan. Tradition adds the island of Mull, but, had they possessed Mull, they would have also seized on other adjacent islands. Who, then, inhabited those south of the said point? They were the Erinich and Albinich.[1]

The Irish and the Gael came from the same people, and spoke the same language. The British and Anglo-Saxons had interpreters. Columba, when he came to the west of Scotland to convert the Picts, made use of an interpreter, till he acquired the knowledge of their language and superstitions. Malcolm Canmore was himself interpreter between his queen and subjects. But the first inhabitants of Albin and Erin required none; they can converse together at the present time. Who first arrived in either island we need not inquire; it is of little consequence, but we know for certain, that some from Albin went to Erin, and *vice versa*, from the beginning, and might have promiscuously inhabited the same islands, with the peninsula of Cantire, and some of the coast of Scotland nearest to Ireland. Some of the Highland Clans, the M'Neills and others, claim Irish extraction; and the Earls of Antrim were of Scottish origin; from the Macdonalds of Cantire and Islay came the Lords of the Isles.

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[1] Here we have the most confused portion of the history of the Ancient Scots before us: were we to wade through the mass, a volume might not contain all that could be related. We shall, as far as can be ascertained, narrate the real, and pass the doubtful and improbable.

THE SIOL CHUINN—DALRIADS—ATTACOTTI—THE MAETÆ.

The Clann Domhnuil, whose patronymic is "Siol Chuinn," the descendants of Conn of the hundred battles,[1] claim very high antiquity. The bards ascend as high as their brethren of the Green Isle, and celebrate his actions on the coasts of Scotland, his victories which were obtained over the Lochlins. We shall not condescend on the year, as they reckon not by centuries, but by generations (lives,) and, calculating these, he must have lived at a later period. As the date has been fixed as below, we shall not venture to condescend on the particular period, though the Shenachies' chronology would have made it some few centuries later. Yet we must say that the two countries have a right to claim him, as well as his descendant, Colla-da-chrich, (Colla of the two boundaries.) Colla n-Umhais the fierce, was a native of Scotland, as well as Colla Rungeal, the mild; not brothers, as some allege, but lineal descendants from Conn. These were high in the strains of the bards.

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[1] Conn cued-chathach, Conn of the hundred battles, has been claimed by the Irish as well as the Scots. They former say he flourished in 177; that he was chief of the half of Ireland, and of the House of Hermas; was at mortal war with the chief ruler of Moidh, heir and chief of the house of Sheirim, whereupon all Ireland was divided with a great trench, from Dublin Ford, called Acheclech, to the Acheclech of Muiric, beyond Galway, where the south part is called the half of Moidh, and the north part the half of Conn.—See Battle of Magh Leana, Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. i. Nov. 1855.

503. The Dalriads, or Dalreudini,[2] were a colony from Ulster, in Ireland, their leader, a chief, being Fergus. They might have come from a locality denominated Dalruadhain, red field. There are many places in the two kingdoms of the same name, and, judging of the extent from the name, which is descriptive, we infer the emigrants should be called a company rather than a colony. They landed in Cantire, and occupied a place then named Dalruadhain, where, in the sixth century, Ciaran, a pious and learned Culdee, under whose tuition the celebrated Columba studied, landed from Ireland, about a century after Fergus and followers, and became pastor of their descendants. In honour of him, the place was named Cille-Ciaran, now Campbelton.[3]

This is the origin of the Dalriads, who were said to supersede the Scots and Picts. These nations, as we have seen, were powerful in the time of the Romans, and also of the Anglo-Saxons. However much the

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[2] Dalruadhain, literally, red field.

[3] Cille-Ciaran, *(kiaran)* is the Gaelic name of the place or town; the English name, Campbellton, was given it in honour of the Argyle family.

Dalruadhains were increased in the peninsula of Cantire by their kindred from Ireland, there is nothing more improbable than that they would grow so great in a century or two, as to become the people of "broad Albin." What Buchanan says of the Dalreudini shows they occupied but a part of the country. A writer in the Encyclopædia says much on the subject, but as he chiefly derives his information from Pinkerton,[4] a writer of no authority, we shall not trouble the reader with his reasoning.[5] Many proofs, if necessary, might be adduced to show that the description of the Lowlanders, as in the note below, applied in general to the Ancient Scots. Such as are conversant in the poetry and tradition of the country, well know that their names, commonly descriptive, had oftener partaken of the fair than the black. Their king was Righ Fionn Ghael, king of the fair Gael; not the Lord of the Isles, nor King of the Fingalians; the one was only chief, the other Fionn the son of Comhal. The meaning of the name is "fair;" but the father of Ossian was only king of a race of heroes. The translator anglified Fionn Ghael, Fingal, which looks and sounds better than Fion, the son of Comhal; he was not king of the Gael. Never did the Erinich, nor the Albinich, call the mighty man Fionn Ghael, Fingal.

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[4] Pinkerton is an extraordinary writer. He says,—"The Lowlanders of Scotland are a Gothic race; are tall and large, with fair complexion, and often with yellow flaxen hair, and blue eyes, and these are grand features of the Goths, as mentioned in all ancient writers. The lower classes of the Highlanders are generally diminutive, if we except some of the Norwegian descent; with brown complexion and almost always of black curled hair, and dark eyes; in mind and manners the distinction is as marked. The Lowlanders are acute, industrious, sensible, erect, free; the Highlanders, indolent, slavish, strangers to industry." Was Mr Pinkerton really aware that he was describing the Scots, who were one and the same population in Scotland since the reign of Kenneth Macalpin, and only distinguished into Highlanders and Lowlanders since the reign of Malcolm Canmore?

[5] The writers who make a great people of the company that came from Ireland to Cantire, tell us how they spread, and occupied Argyleshire, under chiefs or princes, one of whom they call Lorn, who gave the name to the district of the country which he possessed; but they forget that neither Erinich nor Albinich talked English in those days; nor had they adverted to the Gaelic name, which was then, and is still, *Lathurn*.

The Attacotti were Scots who lived between the two Roman walls; the origin of the name, which has been latinized, is descriptive of the locality. The places they chiefly occupied were best known as marked by said walls. They were gradually blended with the great body of Scots in the eastern part of the kingdom.

The Maætae[6] or Mæatae, as some write, were the inhabitants of the level country. They were Gael or Scots. The Picts never possessed these lands, though they might be found in them, as in other places belonging to the Scots, in the time of their confederacy.

THE APOSTLE OF THE IRISH.

Since the second century, Christianity was spreading through the length of the island of Great Britain. It might have been introduced into Ireland in the third, but made little progress till the fifth century. Pope Celestine sent, in the beginning of this century, Palladius to Ireland, to convert the "rude nation." Seeing no fruits arising from his labours, he returned into Scotland. Not daunted by the ill success of Palladius, a native of the province Valentia, born near Dumbarton, resolved to go to Ireland. His countrymen being well served by the ministry of the Culdees, he hoped he would be more useful in the Western Isle. He was not sent, as alleged, by the Pope: he went of his own accord, and was well prepared for the mission. His parents being in good circumstances, he received all the advantages of education, and was highly gifted by nature. He was pious, and being endowed with poetical talents, he translated the Psalms into his native tongue. Instead of singing the martial strains of his country, he sang or chanted these; hence they called him Patrick the psalm-singer.[1] He and the bards had many disputes; but repudiating the monkish legends and bardic tales concerning him, we may say that no man was fitter than Patrick for the undertaking. He was eloquent and persuasive, firm in his purpose, and of commanding authority.

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[6] Magh, a mead, a field; when extensive, a plain: the Lowlands of Scotland.

Patrick was thirty-two years of age when he left his native country.[2] He found the Irish illiterate. Their priests, the Druids, made it illegal to commit anything to writing; but, although the Celts were not allowed, the Druids excepted, the use of letters, they were not ignorant. They were desirous of knowledge, and having brought the faculty of memory to the highest degree of perfection, they were not destitute of information. The Scotsman began his labours by teaching the letters, and found his pupils apt to learn. Wherever he established a seat of learning[3] there was a church built.[4]

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[1] Padruig a chanas na Sailm.

[2] The History of the Culdees, 1855.

[3] Chathair Chuldich.

[4] Clachan.

Since the massacre of the Druids in Anglesea, druidism was on the decline. As the unity of Deity and the immortality of the soul were some of the doctrines they and the bards, a sacerdotal order, promulgated, they could have less objection to Christianity than other pagans; but the Trinity was a doctrine incomprehensible to them, till Patrick, with an herb of three leaves,[5] making appeal to the organ of sight, explained to them the unity of Trinity, as the leaves sprung from the petal, or one stem. Patrick prospered in his arduous undertaking beyond all expectation. The blessing of God was on his labours. He soon found fellow-labourers among his pupils. It is almost incredible the number of churches he built in the island, and the pastors and elders appointed to them all.[6] But when we know that he brought with him the church discipline as well as learning of his native land, we may understand, that, by the blessing of God, a man of his powers, diligence, and exertion, was equal to his uncommon labours. The church discipline of the Culdees was extremely simple; they had alway the example of the apostles before them, and their rules were few and plain.

Patrick died in 472.—He was then past seventy years of age.

The Scots and the Picts were quiet for some centuries; at least there was no great disturbances in the country. If they and the Saxons came in contact, neither of them saw any great benefit arising from their antagonism; so the two nations began to settle on their respective territories. The Scots were content to live by industry, and have their effects safe from plunder. The Picts found it their best policy to live on the produce of their own industry also; but they were not likely to be infused into one people. The Scots were Christians; the Picts knew little of religion, corrupted as it was by the Pagans, but they were superstitious, and despised all learning, except the science of arms.

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[5] Shamrock.

[6] Usher says 365, with their pastors and twelve elders.

Meantime, there were some advances in improvement. Were these nations to follow the example of the Romans, they might profit more than they were aware,—but compulsory measures never produce the intended effect. So centuries passed since the Romans left the island, until the final conquest of the Scots over the Picts, before a great change was produced on the kingdom.

THE APOSTLE OF THE PICTS.

More than a century after Patrick went to Ireland, a noble youth, with twelve friends, left the Green Isle in their curroch,—not a frail wicker boat,[1] but a stout one, to pass the stormy Mull of Cantire, and buffet the rapid currents of the Straits of Correvreckan. Columba landed in a small island south-west of Mull; the harbour is still called *Port-na-Currich.*[2] Columba was born in 521; his father was Felim, son of Neill, the great king of Ireland. He was, like Patrick, talented, and received the best education. Ciaran, and other celebrated men, were his tutors. He went abroad, where he was offered promotion in places of high honour. He modestly declined accepting of any, saying, he would not deprive any person who merited it, of any situation. Riches and power he relinquished in his own country; all he wished was to be useful. He founded churches in Ireland before he was twenty-eight years of age; and, finding the Church in a flourishing state, he looked to a quarter where he might find more to do.

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[1] D'Aubigne, vol. v. p. 29.

[2] The Harbour of Curroch. Columba, Latin; Colum, Irish; Calum, Gaelic. He is not to be confounded with Columbanus.

The Culdich desired no more than the necessaries of life, and they might be said, literally, to eat their bread by the sweat of their brow; they cultivated the pittance of land given them in possession, with their own hands. Land, in their time, was not a scarce commodity; yet the small and almost barren isle of Iona,[3] was grudged to them. The Druids, who buried their dead in it, and possessed an adjacent islet, endeavoured to persuade them to leave. Columba repaired to the king of the Picts, who held his court at the head of Lochness. He at first was refused admittance to the king, but being a man of perseverance as well as patience, he at length received an audience. Brudius, the king, granted him the small island in possession; but he obtained more, without which, he well knew his labours would be in vain: he got the consent of the sovereign to preach the gospel to his people; and also obtained, on better acquaintance, his aid and countenance. Columba was obliged to take an interpreter with him when he went to the king of the Picts.

There are two particulars here the reader should bear in mind: the part of the country in which the Pictish king held his court, and the foreign language the Gothic race spoke. The more the holy man was known, the more was he esteemed. He was a man of sagacity and zeal, as well as piety and learning. His reputation for probity and impartiality was high, and so well known, that kings and chiefs repaired to him from Ireland, and various parts of Scotland, with their disputes, beseeching him to take them into consideration; and they acquiesced in his decision. He was instrumental in preserving peace between the Scots and the Picts, now being of the same persuasion; for Columba and his brethren had converted the Gothic nation from their illunderstood superstition, to the knowledge of the Christian religion; though many of them, like Pagans in general, had undergone little more than an external change.

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[3] Iona: *I*, island; *tonn*, wave; *I-thonn*, isle of waves.

As the life of this great man is so well known, we need not enlarge on it here. He was indefatigable, and he, with Divine aid, succeeded in all his undertakings. His library was famous; and the institutions of Iona, perfected by Columba, is believed to have been the foundation of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Columba purchased books when abroad, adding many valuable works to his private library. At the sacking of Rome by Alaric, a chest-full of the classics fell to the share of the booty carried away by Fergus II., which chest was made a donation to the brethren of Iona. It is said that a copy of the lost books of Livy was among them, but of so frail a texture that it could not be perused.

The first impression Columba made on the Picts, was owing to his enduring the inclemency of the weather and fatigue, surpassing even the hardy race. He often lay down on the cold earth, putting a stone under his head for a pillow. He gained the affection of the bards, whom Patrick rather exasperated in their disputes. But he never made truce with any Druids that fell in his way. He and Patrick, it is said, destroyed any of their writings that happened to come into their hands.

Columba's labours were manifold. He instructed the young, and preached to multitudes. When singing psalms, his voice was heard in Mull, at a mile's distance. He was a man of a penetrating judgment, and never failed in selecting proper candidates for the Church: any he found deficient in learning and piety, he sent back to their studies. He had many advantages over Patrick, who left him models; and he made improvements on all; visiting the churches and seats of learning in Scotland, and occasionally in Ireland, which were many, he acquired the appellation of "Malcolm of the Cells."[1]

While firm and resolute, the apostle of the Picts was full of simplicity and tenderness. He was always for peace, and contributed more than any in maintaining peace between the Scots and the Picts. Columba, like Patrick, was a bard and an excellent classic scholar; but he studied the Scriptures most, making all subservient to the elucidation of the inspired volume. In person Columba was majestic, and his appearance in the eyes of a warlike people, added to his success in his great undertaking. His manners were pleasant; he was courteous, and cheerful. Though austere in his vócation, abstemious and laborious, he was comely, having a florid countenance. So famous was the college of Iona, that it was called the "Light of the West," and "Gem of the Ocean." Even the ground in which his remains had been laid was thought sacred. Kings and chiefs made it their last request that their remains should be buried in Iona. Columba here breathed his last, while at his devotions, A.D. 597.

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[1] He was not known by this name in his own time, though he is yet best known by the people, as *Calum Cille*. *Clachan*, and not *Kil*, was the name of the church in his days; *Cathair Chuldich*, seat of learning, and not monastery. The Culdees were elders, not monks.

Much good was done by this extraordinary person. As the works of good and great men are said to follow them, the labours of Columba died not with him; his followers were diligent, pious, and prosperous in their calling. The peace that he always advocated was long maintained between these nations, so that we may pass some centuries in the history of their wars. Britain was comparatively tranquil. Christianity, which had been established in the North, began to find its way southward. Bede informs us that Oswald, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, had been educated at Iona, and no sooner had he obtained the sovereignty, than he sent to the Scottish Elders, requesting them to send him one as in later times has been termed an ordained minister, who would dispense all the ordinances, and by whose ministry his subjects might be instructed in the faith. They readily complied with his request: missionaries were sent from time to time to the south of the island, until a powerful opposition was made by the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding the authority gained by Augustine, through the assistance of a queen, and the exertions of the forty monks who accompanied him into Britain, it took a long time before the Anglo-

Saxons were entirely converted, and the Romish clergy had at times nearly abandoned the kingdom. They would have left the island at one time, were it not for a miracle that the last bishop who lingered in the country saw, or rather pretended to have seen. So, as the Mother Church never relinquished what she once obtained, her clergy persevered in keeping their ground, and enlarging their territory.

While Oswald lived, the Culdees were honoured and protected. His successor was at first of the faith, but, being a different person in civil as well as religious matters, was perverted; and as the Romish clergy prevailed, the Culdees declined. The former were again indebted to a queen, who used her influence over the king. As soon as he had changed, it was easy to convert his subjects, who had little scruple in going from one Church to another; while Ireland and Scotland believed in the doctrine of the Gospel, faithfully taught them by the ancient British Clergy, the Culdees. The Pope obtained the supremacy, and England was not well founded in the faith, nor wholly free of the superstitions of their fathers. The pageantry of the Church that was extending her bounds, was imposing, and the benefices bestowed on the Romish clergy were tempting to young men licensed to preach; these were drawn from the Culdees, whose humility and poverty savoured not of the good things of earth. Adamnan himself, who was highly respected at Iona, and sent South, was tampered with, and seduced by the offers made to him, and sent back to the brethren, that he might, by the confidence reposed in him, withdraw them over to the Church of Rome. When he could not prevail there, he crossed over to the Sister Isle, where he was more successful. From that time the Culdees in Ireland began to decline ; hence followed the loss of the name, "'The Isle of Saints," which it had well merited, and retained during three centuries.

Note.—Here we pass over a list of sixty-seven kings ; seventeen before, and fifty after, the Christian era. The Scots had many petty kings (reguli) and chiefs, but the sovereign they called "Righ Fionn Ghauil," the king of the fair Gauil (Gael.) The twenty-six who governed Scotland from 834 to 1294, were kings of all Scotland, and their subjects *Scots.* To do justice to these sovereigns and the people, we should compare them with their contemporaries of other neighbouring nations, and we would find, (a few weak and profligate excepted,) that they and their subjects will not weigh lighter in the balance. Some writers have given a different account of Alpin. We reject the pretended miracle of Kenneth, to excite the Scots to avenge the death of his father, but see no reason to disbelieve the ambuscade and fatal end of the brave but unfortunate king.

PART II.

FROM THE YEAR 831 A.D., TO 1294 A.D.

KING ALPIN.

THE Scots and Picts, who began their early strife time immemorial, were seldom at peace; but common interest made them join their forces against the Romans, and the spirit of revenge, and propensity to plunder, continued them in the confederacy. We find them at intervals settled on portions of land they, after the example set them, began to clear and improve. The longest period of time they were at rest, was from the conversion of the Picts to the reign of Alpin, king of the Scots. Though from the age of Columba to this era the two nations professed the same religion, we cannot say they lived in amity. Goodwill among them was doubtful; and the profession, at least of some of the Picts, was nominal. Little regard was paid by these to their venerable teachers, the Culdees.

At length, in the beginning of the 9th century, open war broke out between the nations. Though the Picts never possessed more than the third of Albin, they always maintained their ground, whether victors or vanquished. It is not easy, if at all possible, to draw the line of demarcation between their kingdoms, as the victors became aggressors, or, in their turn, when vanquished, had to relinquish their recent acquisition. The Picts always retained the north-west,[1] the district on which they landed from the Western Isles; and Druim-Albin is said to have made the division.

The war now kindled, was not for plunder, but entire possession. Alpin, king of the Scots, was a brave and warlike man. In their first battle, the king of the Picts fell,[2] and they were not fortunate in the choice of his successors. The conquerors might have been elated, or moved with little caution, for the king and nobles returning with confidence and off their guard, fell into an ambuscade laid by the insidious foe. They were slain in cold blood; the head of Alpin was said to be carried in triumph through the most public places, and then fixed on a pole, in one of their towers, instead of an ovation.

The Picts gloried in the barbarous action; but the event turned out to be the most fatal that could have happened them. Though the son and successor failed in his endeavours to rouse the people to revenge the shameful murder of his sire and nobles, while they were so much disheartened, "*Bàs Alpin,*" (the death of Alpin) was not forgotten, and the expression was given as a name to the place where the atrocious deed was perpetrated.

Alpin's reign was short, and his end fatal. He left a brave son to avenge his death; and "Bàs Alpin!" became the battle-cry of the Scots, and the doom of the Picts. Alpin was the most distinguished person in his time in Albin; the father of kings and of chiefs, who claimed the highest antiquity in the Highlands of Scotland, and boasted of their royal blood.[3]

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[1] Pinkerton himself allows this; though, with the greatest inconsistency, he again tells us the Picts inhabited the east of the kingdom, and were the Lowland Scots.

[2] The field of battle where Feredeth, the king of the Picts fell, was near Forfar, in Angus-shire. It was a bloody fight, which lasted till night.

KENNETH MACALPIN.

Kenneth Macalpin succeeded his father in 834, A.D. The first act of his reign was to reward the young men who went and carried off the head of his father from the place it was fixed as a spectacle. He then called a council, to deliberate on the best way they should adopt to revenge the barbarous action of the enemy. The young men in the council were ready to engage the Picts; but the old, more cautious, considering the two armies, dissuaded the young king from rash action, while so dispirited by their late loss of king and nobles, and the elated state of the Picts: they counselled to sue for peace; the two armies, regarding each other, the one ready for action, and confident of triumph, yet offered not to engage; the other, sensible of their loss, which was worse than defeat, would not decline battle, though not forward to fight. The young king wisely acquiesced in the counsel of the elders, though it was only for a time. He began preparations; but three years passed without declaration of war or treaty of peace, during which time, the king of the Scots was not idle. This interval, that allowed him opportunities to make ready for the great struggle he had in view, operated in a favourable manner on the spirit of his people. They were forgetting the losses they sustained; and the Picts appeared not to them such a formidable foe. They now knew the young king, and conceived well of his courage and warlike qualities. The enemy, on the other hand, felt confident of their own strength and strategy; so they made little preparation, and held the enemy at defiance, were they to come to immediate blows. The two nations had never lost the use of arms; and, although a long time had passed neither in peace nor war, they had their conflicts, and were always ready to engage.

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[3] Cnuic a's uile as' Alpinich. See Sir Walter Scott's introduction to Rob Roy.

In the fourth year of his reign, Kenneth thought it high time to revenge the death of his father. "Bàs Alpin" was not to be forgotten; and he was pleased to observe, that his men were not reluctant to commence hostilities. He convoked the chiefs, and their spirits rose on hearing the intentions he had most at heart, the greatest preparations being made on Kenneth's side. It was now that the Picts began to repent of their rash action. They, however, were not disheartened, and would trust to the chance of war.

A battle soon ensued; it was fierce and bloody. The battle cry was heard by all the Scots. It produced greater effect than the spirit-stirring war song. "Remember the death of Alpin!"[3] was heard through all the ranks of the Scots. The spirits of the Picts began to fail. It was then the young king distinguished himself, and with the flower of his men, broke through the ranks of the foe, and put them to flight. Recent cruelties recalled ancient animosities; in the pursuit, a dreadful slaughter was made, nor age nor rank was spared; quarter was neither asked nor given.

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[3] Cuimhnich Bàs Alpin.

This victory had brought the affairs of the Picts to the most deplorable state. They in vain sued for peace; the Scots would hear of no conditions but the surrender of their lands. This battle was fought in 838.

In the following year, all that were north of the Forth surrendered. Kenneth led his army into the interior of the kingdom. Having received intelligence that certain guards left by him were slain, he turned his forces against the rebels, to exterminate the settlers, and delete the name of the Gothic race; all places being laid waste with fire and sword, that they should have no subsistence.

Drusken, King of the Picts, perceiving the survivors had now to fight for life, and not for empire, collected them into one place, crossed the Forth, went to the town of Scone, on the banks of the Tay: the river stopped the Scots. There he again sued for peace, which would only be granted on the former terms; the King of the Scots would hear of nothing but surrender. The Picts retreated into the country beyond the Forth. Another battle followed. The Picts fought with the fierceness of despair, being in the last extremity. They were forced to give way, and the river Tay was the destruction of the fugitives; Drusken the King was slain, with the most of his bravest men; nor were the rest more fortunate, between the flood and the foe.

It was said that the Scots and the Picts fought seven times, in one day. The kingdom of the Picts was finally ruined. Kenneth, as has been said, laid waste the land, and took all the strongholds; so the surviving

Picts were obliged to fly the country: some went to England, others abroad.

Kenneth entered on his government in an unfavourable state of affairs. His father, had he lived, might have subdued the Picts, yet might not have extirpated them; though the Scots were the most powerful, they were not always the most successful. But the death of Alpin,—that seemed at first to the perpetrators their triumph and glory,—was the immediate cause of their fall. They were sensible of it when too late. When a nation loses the feelings of humanity, they share the fate of the ravenous tribes of the forest, and may expect their end.

The *Gaill*, a Gothic race, better known by the soubriquet Picts, though not entirely extinct, lost all they possessed in Albin. Kenneth Macalpin effected what none before him could have done; he not only conquered a people who tenaciously held possession of what lands they seized in broad Albin, but likewise banished the remnant of them who escaped the sword and the famine, from the whole of the north, since called Scotland, and reigned over the Scots through all the length and breadth of the land.

After the defeat of the Gothic race, the brave king of the Scots attacked the Saxons in the Lothians, and invaded their territories, extending his dominions to the walls of Adrian; then he turned his arms against the Britons of Strathclyde,[2] who invaded his dominions on the west coast, and burned Dumblane. The Picts being expelled the kingdom, Kenneth divided their lands among the most deserving, who erased the names imposed by the Picts. Districts and places received new names, so that all traces of the Gothic race disappeared, and their language, not being a written one, was lost.

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[2] Pinkerton says they were Welsh; but it is more likely they came from the south of the island, and were exiled by the Anglo-Saxons.

"The Scots," says Robertson, "who were not mentioned by any Roman author before the end of the fourth century, were probably a colony of the Celtæ, or Gauls; their affinity to them appears from their language, their manners, and their religious rites,—circumstances more decisive with regard to the origin of nations, than either fabulous traditions, or the tales of ill-informed and credulous annalists."[4]

The Danish pirates made a descent on the east coast, penetrated to Dunkeld, and plundered the country. Their leader was Ragnor Lodbrog. Kenneth expelled the Northmen, and the Scots enjoyed repose during the remaining years of his reign.

Kenneth might have been denominated great from his actions; but it was not alone by his bravery and success over his enemies that he was great. He was just and equitable. He made new laws for the whole kingdom, and strengthened his dominions by ancient discipline. Neither license from war, nor insolence from victory, nor vices which usually accompany luxury and ease, appeared in his time. While he lived, there was order and good government observed in every part of the realm. The state of Scotland prospered, and owed its rise during many ages to his wise laws, no less than to his arms. He reigned over the Scots twenty years. The first five years he spent in preparations for war, and expelling the inveterate enemies from the north of the island; the remaining fifteen he employed in settling the kingdom, and making his people happy.

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[4] The Romans knew the Scots as Caledonians. The Picts, who fought with them, were unknown to them, or considered as auxiliaries.

Kenneth Macalpin was a great and good king, attributes that meet not always in the conqueror. His sagacity and firm resolution appeared in the terms proposed to the vanquished Picts; these though hard, were merited. His prudence was not less apparent in assenting to the counsel of the elder, when his will and filial duty induced him to concede to the younger, and rush on a foe elated with success, to avenge the death of the brave Alpin and his nobles.

Kenneth was religious, and he employed much of his time in domestic affairs. Many things have been attributed to him; such as removing the remains of Columba from Iona to Dunkeld, and transporting the fatal stone from Argyleshire to Scone, near Perth. Kings have much in their power in peace as well as in war; yes, whether for good or evil. But happy is the monarch, and thrice happy his subjects, who is wise and good as well as great.

Kenneth left his kingdom in peace, from the Isles of Shetland and Orkney to the Wall of Adrian, when he died at Forteviot, (Abernethy, the Pictish capital,) A.D. 854, leaving a son and daughter. Constantine did not immediately succeed his father; the sceptre was assumed by Donal, his uncle, son of Alpin. In the face of facts, the M'Phersons, who should have known that the Scots and Picts spoke not the same language, would have them to be one people. Others narrate that Kenneth subdued the Picts, or united the two nations under his sole government.

DONAL I.

Contemporary, Ethelwulf of England.

The government, in those times, being elective, Donal succeeded his brother Kenneth. He dissembled his character during his father's life, and the more successful reign of his brother, so as to have deceived all who had a voice in his election. No sooner had he ascended the throne, no longer under restraint, nor afraid of a people who might have rejected him, than he displayed his character in the worst traits. He was free of fear, as far as regarded enemies of the state, nor cared for those whom he governed. He made no attempt to conceal the vices that were predominant in his nature. He gave himself up entirely to voluptuous habits, and neglected military discipline. Surrounded with persons who could administer to his pleasures, or divert his thoughts from what was honourable and useful, on these he lavished the public money. The youth studied to please him, praising him to the skies for his elegance and liberality, and presuming to scorn the parsimony of former times as unworthy of his notice.

This king changed the manners of his subjects, who looked to and followed their superiors. It is the fate of corrupted nature to follow more readily forbidden pleasures, than to restrain inordinate desires. The bad qualities of Donal appeared more glaring, as the good ones in his brother were so conspicuous. The elders, seeing the ruinous course of their king, came to him, and remonstrated, admonishing him to pursue another course, and to choose better counsellors. Though he seemed to take their advice, he, however, continued his indulgences, and remained inactive, notwithstanding the danger of which he was warned. The surviving Picts, in England and elsewhere, incited by the hope of recovering their possessions, applied to the English monarch. They laid before him their misfortunes, complained of all the hard usages they received, and implored his aid. The inactivity of Donal, and the neglect of military discipline among the Scots, opened a fair prospect of success to the king of England. The Picts promised to be his subjects, or that they and their posterity would pay tribute to him. The English agreed, on these terms, to aid the Picts, and invade Scotland with a great army. Heralds were sent to Donal, demanding him to restore to the Picts the land that had been violently wrested from them; and, in case of refusal, to declare war against him. Donal, although slothful and profligate in his domestic habits, was brave when roused to action, and alert in meeting a foe.

The Picts, in alliance with the Northumbrian Saxons, observing the Scots were governed by one who so little resembled his predecessor, were confident, with the aid granted, of gaining the possessions which a more warlike monarch had seized. Donal, however unwilling to forego pleasure for duty, seeing that the threatening crisis was not to be neglected, convoked a meeting at Jedda, a river near the Tweed, and marched against the invaders. He engaged the enemy, and routed the Saxons and Picts, who fled to the mountains, but soon rallied and returned to the contest. In the second engagement, the Scottish king was taken prisoner; but the Saxons and their allies, attempting to cross the Firth of Forth, lost the half of their forces in a storm.

The English, in consequence of the adverse battle at Jedda, and their losses by shipwreck, entered into a treaty of peace with the Scots, in which the Picts were not included. In this peace it happened, no less joyful to the Scots than unexpected, that no mention was made of the Picts recovering their possessions, for the English and the Scots shared the land between them. The river Clyde was now to be the boundary; so much of what was gained by Kenneth, was now lost by his unprincipled brother.

The Picts, seeing their allies and enemies dividing their lands among themselves, deceived and frustrated in their hopes and views, emigrated to Cymri and Scandinavia; a few, who remained among the English, being discovered in a conspiracy against them, inviting foreign auxiliaries, were slain. Donal was honourably received by his people; they entertaining better hopes of him, owing to the share he took in the late contest, as the successor of Alpin and Kenneth; but no sooner was he secure from foreign foes, than he fell into his accustomed inactivity and vicious habits. The nobles, despairing of weaning him from his pleasures and former associates, and fearing the losses that were likely to fall on the kingdom in consequence, threw him into prison, where grief, and want of his usual indulgences, or fear of public disgrace, made him lay violent hands on himself.

Of his character little need be said. He was not destitute of the qualities that fitted him for the high rank to which the nation raised him. He was said to have managed affairs well abroad, that rendered the prudent conspicuous in peace and war; but his habits and evil propensities more than balanced these. He might have made a peaceable subject in the high rank of royalty, while under the government of a good and brave king; but how much a nation suffers under a bad ruler was seen during his short reign.

Donal died at Scone,—some say at Balachair,—after a reign of four years, A.D. 858; though writers differ as to the dates. We follow Buchanan.

CONSTANTINE.

Contemporary, Ethelred I. of England.

Donal was succeeded by Constantine, son of Kenneth. He was crowned at Scone. Constantine was endowed with the great qualities that are essential to a ruler. He possessed excellent mental dispositions, and was desirous of wiping off the ignominy, that his predecessor brought on the royal family and nation, and of extending the kingdom as far as the bounds that were settled by his father. He looked to the elders for advice; some of the youth under Donal passed away with their faults; the surviving were not trusted with arms. The first thing to which Constantine attended, was the discipline of the army. He ordered the effeminate youth to lie on the bare ground, and eat their daily bread together. He inflicted capital punishment on the drunken. He prohibited all games, but what tended to strengthen the body, and invigorate the mind. By his laws the youth were turned to useful pursuits.

His subjects being settled in peace, on a sudden, a certain islander, by name Ewen, whom he had made governor of Lochaber, started up to disturb the quietness that reigned amongst all classes. He was restless and desirous of ruling, and was aware how ill the youth could bear the new regulations, so stringent compared with the loose government of Donal. He began to sound the depth of the calm, and after finding the state of their mind, curbed and restrained by strict laws, he began to address himself to many, complaining and admonishing. When he perceived that his speech was acceptable, he then advised and persuaded them to rouse themselves against the government of Constantine, and remove him. But while, with less caution than diligence, he and the youth were increasing their faction, they were betrayed by one of their associates, and were surprised by a force sent against them. The conspiracy was suppressed; and Ewen the chief was apprehended, and strangled in prison.

A greater trouble succeeded. The Danes were the most powerful of the German races that invaded the coasts of Europe, always disturbing the peace of these nations, and were easily induced to aid the Picts, in recovering their possessions in Scotland. These were all the survivors of the warlike race who so long possessed an ample part of Albin. The multitude of the Danish youth were idle at home; and, not unwilling to cross the seas, a great fleet conveyed them to Scotland. They at first descended on Fife, and began butchering all that opposed them without distinction, on acount of the Christian religion. The destructive invaders laid the land waste in two directions.

Constantine marched against them, and met at first the division of the army commanded by Hubba, brother of the King of the Danes. This division, by the sudden rise of the river Leven were hindered from joining the other division, and were easily overcome. They were all slain, excepting a few who crossed the river, and joined the other leader, having lost their own. Against these Constantine marched; but after crossing the river, led not his men to battle, as he found the Danes were in a fortified camp. They were intent on plunder, and had chosen places well fortified by nature amid rocks. They could easily raise a wall of stone; secure their booty, save themselves from assault, and issue forth to assail the foe, as occasion offered success. Constantine fought several battles with the Danes; but, losing many of his forces, he had fallen into the hands of the enemy, through the treachery, it has been alleged, of Picts in his service, and of whom he was not aware. These had remained among the Scots, were enrolled in the army, and were unknown to the king. He was dragged into a cave, and slain, near a rampart called Dane's dyke, in the parish of Crail. Monuments of the camp are still to be seen; the compass of which measured not an equal space, but led round the bending of the rocks. The cave lay near it. The Danes, disregarding the claims of the Picts, departed with their spoil. On the following day, the body of the king was discovered, and his remains were carried to the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the island of Iona.

Constantine governed the Scots sixteen years; was a good, and would have been a great king, had he lived many days. He died A.D. 874. He was magnanimous and virtuous, and was worthy of his father, in making good rules and regulations for the morality of his people, and the observance of religious worship, after the example of the ancient British Clergy.

In his time the western coast of Europe was much infested by pirates. England, Ireland, France, as well as Scotland were exposed to the invasions of the Scandinavians, or Lochlins, as the Gael called them. The Vikingers, or sea-kings, possessed every advantage in making descent on these countries, which they plundered, and, carrying the spoil into their ships, they could set sail ere a force was collected and marched against them. When they met a ready army, and were expelled from one kingdom, they sailed away and landed on a coast less ready to oppose them. A gale or a storm carried them hither in less time than an army could have marched a short distance.

HUGH,

Surnamed Alipes, succeeded Constantine. Being swift of foot, he acquired the name Alipes, and it was the chief property for which he was famous. Unmindful of the excellent qualities and great parts of his late brother and grandsire, Hugh polluted himself with all vices, and led the youth, too much inclined to follow bad examples, in the worst path. He could boast of his cognomen, Alipes, but of nothing else worthy of notice. No other memorable action of his life is known, except his success against the Lochlins, which might have depended on his men more than on himself.

In a conspiracy of the nobles, a long speech was made, enumerating all his faults, to which he was made to listen. Grig, an artful chief, who was Maor-mor[1] of the country between the Dee and the Spey, raised the faction against him, and appealed to the sword. Hugh was wounded, and died in the space of two months, in 875. Though swift of foot, he was sluggish in action, which chiefly offended the military men. He had an opportunity of extending the boundaries of the kingdom, which his predecessor begun, while the English were engaged in a bloody war with the Danes; but he never seemed to entertain the intention of recovering the lost countries, nor suffered himself to be admonished. While the people deservedly lamented the death of Constantine, they had cause to be thankful that Hugh reigned over them but one year.

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[1] Maor-mor, high-officer.

GRIG.

Grig, or Grigory, son of Dongal, succeeded Hugh. He wanted no virtue which became a chieftain. He was the author of the rebellion; fought and wounded Hugh, and seized the sceptre. He, in the beginning of his reign, reconciled to himself all who were adverse to him when he aspired to the sovereignty; and he laboured to remove the discord among the nobles. He tempered the severity of ruling with courtesy, and effected more by leniency than fear. The law that bore hard on the clergy, who were reduced to a destitute state, and almost slavery, by the Picts, he cancelled, and made new ones in their favour. His first expedition into Fife was against the Picts left there by the Danes, while they carried their arms against the English. He had driven them, not only from Fife, but also from Lothian and Merse. When he arrived at Berwick, the Danes, lest any accident should happen to themselves, fearing at the time, the English from behind, and daring not to meet Grig in battle, collected part of their own forces beyond Cumberland; ordered a new company of the people recently arrived, to join them; the rest were to enter Berwick as a guard. But the English, hostile to the Danes, as they were not Christians, received the Scots at night into the city; and the Danes, thus surrounded, perished.

From thence, Grig proceeded to Northumberland, where he fought Hardyknute, making a great slaughter of the Danes. Their whole force, so formidable to Britain, were annihilated, partly by Grig, and partly by Alured, the English commander.

Grig had received Northumberland; and the English, who wished to depart, were dismissed with good grace. The rest he humanely treated, giving them settlements. He retained the greatest part of the land, being his native country, and which also was bestowed on the king of Scotland, under promise of subduing the enemies. When they fought so many bloody battles with the Danes, during many years, and not prevailing, the English, although at one time inimical, were more willing to obey Christians than come under the power of the cruel Danes, or wait the uncertain aid of their own people. The times were in such trouble that the English were often in doubt to whom they should send assistance. Things being so well managed with respect to the Danes, as to make Grigory hope and expect a long rest from them, he turned his arms against the Britons, who still held part of the Scottish territories; but they, promising him assistance against the Danes, if they should return, the king dismissed his army. The Britons, after returning home, repented of the peace they made, and assumed arms. They entered Scotland in a hostile manner, expecting to carry away much spoil. Grigory routed them in a great battle at Lochmaben, in which Constantine, their king, was slain.

After the Britons had reaped the fruits of their evil design, and had chosen Hibert, Constantine's brother, to be their king, they began to consider how their affairs stood with the Scots and the hostile Danes. They had not much confidence in the English. Whether they should make a treaty with either of those nations, was matter of consideration. They thought best to have the Scots as their friends, and sent ambassadors to Grigory to sue for peace. The king of the Scots would agree to no terms, unless they restored Cumberland and Westmoreland. At the same time, ambassadors arrived from the English king to congratulate him on his victory over the Danes, that was so acceptable to them and to all Christians, and to make a new league against all enemies of the Christians.

Peace was made on these terms, that they were to assist in opposing and repelling foreign foes. They were to send auxiliaries to aid wherever enemies should land; and the people were to assemble, and give all the assistance in their power; that whatever land the Scots took from the Danes, they should possess in future, as belonging to them without doubt or dispute: so peace was made with all, and treaties were ratified.

The Irish made an irruption into Galloway: they alleged it was to avenge themselves on some Galloway men, who had seized and plundered some long boats that belonged to the inhabitants of Dublin, which happened to be driven to their shores. Grigory marched immediately against them. The Irish hearing of his arrival, suddenly withdrew with their booty, and sailed away. Grigory having collected a fleet, and augmented his army, sailed to Ireland, and landed his forces.

Donacha, Duncan, their king, was a minor; Bryan and Cornelius were, next to the king, the most powerful in the state. They often distracted the nation with their factions; but, hearing of the invasion of a foreign king, they made a truce on the banks of the river Bann; and fortified their camps in places which appeared to them to be impregnable. At a council, called on the occasion, they argued that they should lay waste the country, and protract the war, till the enemy should be obliged to withdraw their troops from want of provision. But Grigory, suspecting their intentions, sent a party of his army privately, at night, to seize on an eminence above the camp of Bryan; the next day when he approached the camp to attack it, great masses of rock were rolled down into the camp, many were crushed to death, and the rest fled in disorder, whichever way they could make their escape. Cornelius hearing of the fate of the auxiliary forces, withdrew his men into safer places. Bryan perished in the camp. Grigory restrained his men, and prevented the slaughter of the fugitives, as much as possible. The soldiers passed through the country without injury. It was so well managed, that the people would rather subject themselves to the king's clemency, than attempt to oppose him. Grigory passing Dundarg and other places fortified by nature, that would occasion delay and loss of men in reducing them, resolved to bring Dublin under his power. But, understanding that Cornelius, the other leader, was approaching with a great army, he turned his forces, and overcame him in battle; then pursuing his route, laid seige to the town. When provision could not be supplied to the great multitude that fled into it for safety, Cormac, the bishop of the place, offered to surrender, on condition that no loss nor injury should be done to the people. Grigory entered the city, and visited Donacha, his relative, to assure him that he came, not with a desire of conquest, or thirst of gain or booty, but to vindicate the injury done to his subjects; all he demanded was, that the elders should be careful in the trust they held, in educating the young king, and that the authorities would not admit an English, British, or Danish vessel into the island, without a charter from him.

Grigory appointed governors, in proper places, to decree justice by the law of the land; and having received sixty hostages for observing these conditions, he returned home with honour and respect. The report of his actions and justice, rendered peace more certain. Having settled his affairs at home and abroad, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign, 892.

Grigory was not less illustrious by his justice and temperance than by his courage and magnanimity. The superiority of the Scots over the English, Irish, and Danes, was obvious in this reign. They might have claimed the northern counties of England by right of conquest; but they had the best claim to it, as these were granted to several Scottish kings for their ready, and often effectual aid, in settling or dispelling the Danes from those parts of England. The Danes were faithless, and disturbers of tranquillity.

Another account of Grigory is not so favourable. He having raised the standard of rebellion, and Hugh, after lingering two months, dying of the wound received in the bloody field of Strathallan, Grigory, it is said, assumed the crown, and, either to secure his wrongful possession, or from other motives, he associated with him in the government, Eachan, the British king of Strathclyde, and the grandson by a daughter of Kenneth Macalpin. After a reign of eleven years, both Eachan and Gregory were forced to abdicate, and give way to Donal II.

DONAL II.

Contemporary Sovereign, Alured of England.

Donal, son of Constantine, was elected king. He was commended by the nobles. He deceived not the judgment formed of him by the most prudent of them. He was desirous of peace, yet was always prepared for war. While he maintained peace, as far as it was honourable, he neglected not military discipline, and made warlike preparations, that seemed unnecessary in profound tranquillity. He was anxious to have the minds of the youth employed, not less than their bodies, lest vicious habits should grow with them. They soon found employment, and the foresight of the sovereign appeared extraordinary. The Lochlins arrived in the Tay, and came to the vicinity of Scone. They were met by the Scots, and defeated; when a new army appeared on the shore of Northumberland; but, doing no violence, lay at anchor some days.

Donal having collected his forces, marched hither, prepared, on all occasions, to watch over his dominions. Hearing, at length, that the Danes invaded the lands of the English, he sent assistance to Alured, who, with his auxiliary, obtained the victory in a bloody battle; after which, he gave the Northmen to understand that they would have a portion of land, were they to become Christians. Peace had just been concluded, and the armies dismissed, when new trouble arose at home. A great flame was kindled between the Ross-shire men and the people of Moray, from a small spark,—a robbery committed by individuals. In tumultuary meetings many suffered. Hither Donal repaired; and, taking the leaders of the factions, he restored peace to the rest. John Fordun, the Scottish historian, states that this good king died at Fores, not without suspicion of poison. Boethius differs in his account.

Donal died in the eleventh year of his reign, 903.

A succession of such kings would have made the nation the most happy then known, and established the kingdom on the firmest foundation. It could not be easily shaken by foreign invasion or domestic sedition. A private person of influence who is just and generous, is a blessing to society; but a sovereign confers the happiness that the good and great bestow, on the people of every degree. The memory of Donal the Second was cherished by the nation after his death, as he was feared by his enemies during his lifetime.

Others say, that nine years after the first invasion of the Lochlins, another army invaded Scotland on the west coast. They were soon met and attacked by the Scots. The invaders lost their leader, and the Scots their king, while defending the liberty of his country.

CONSTANTINE II.

Contemporary, Edward of England.

Constantine, the son of Hugh, succeeded to the throne. He was of a character less steady than depraved. The Danes, who could not induce Grigory and Donal, the last kings of the Scots, by any promises, to take arms against the English, who were Christians, easily bribed Constantine to enter into a treaty with themselves; which treaty scarcely lasted two years. The Danes again made peace with the English, which lasted four years.

Edward, the English king, suddenly collected his army, and depopulated the land of the Danes to a great extent. He reduced them to such a state of desperation as made them return to the Scots whom they had lately left, and swore most solemnly they would enter on a friendship that would always remain unbroken. This treaty had been ratified with great ceremony in the tenth year of the reign of Constantine. In the same year he gave Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the last king, which honour was a token that he would succeed him. This appointment was observed by subsequent kings, with manifest fraud to the ancient rules, taking away the power of free votes.

When war broke out between Edward, son of Alured, and the anes, Constantine sent Malcolm with assistance to the latter. Having joined their armies, and trusting to their numbers, they laid waste the land of the English far and wide, and wherever they advanced, their track was marked with plunder and desolation. The English were far inferior in numbers to give battle.

The allied forces being too confident in their own strength, and as the English declined battle, imagined they could not bear their sight, so they thought less of victory than of carrying away spoil. The English supplied by strategy what they wanted in strength. They at first made a feint of yielding ; the ranks of the enemy being in disorder, they hurried in a crowd to the pursuit, and thought not of fight, till the English turned, resumed their arms, and were reinforced. Athelstan, an illegitimate son of Edward, commanded the forces of the English, by consent of Grafton, and routed the Scots, who retired to the mountains. Peace was concluded, at an enormous cost to the latter, and the son of Constantine was delivered as an hostage.

In 918, Reginald, a Danish chief, appeared with forces in the Clyde, and plundered the country, whilst the Scots were mustering their armies : the latter being assisted on this occasion by the Saxons of Northumberland, contributed to a great victory, that prevented the Northmen from troubling Scotland for many years.

Edward, King of England, having made pretensions of sovereignty to the southern districts of the Scots, marched with his army to the Borders ; but his death put a stop to hostilities. Athelstan, his illegitimate son, was suspected of being cognizant to his demise, and also of causing his brothers Edred and Edwin to be removed. The horrid crimes of parricide and fratricide could not, however, be proved against him at the head of the army, though the tide of suspicion rose high. He was determined to wipe off the stain by acts of valour, and to sacrifice his enemies to appease the spirits of his people.

A general confederacy of the Danes and Northumbrian freebooters, united with the Scots, to attack the English. A numerous fleet sailed from the Tay and the Forth, when a sanguinary engagement ensued. The battle was keen, and continued till sunset. Athelstan at first pretended to fly before the Danes and Scots; and they returning to plunder his camp, the English, at a signal, again set on them, and made great havoc. A great part of the Scottish nobility fell in that battle, chosing to die rather than survive the disasters of their allies. Malcolm, disabled by wounds, was carried to Constantine in a sad state, a messenger of his lost army. Nor were the Danes less objects of pity. Athelstan, after defeating his enemies, took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes. In the sixth year of his reign, Constantine entered into a solemn engagement with the nobles and the clergy, to maintain the faith, the laws, and Church government; and, after a reign of forty years, he resigned his crown, and retired among the Culdees of St Andrews, where he lived five years in solitude. For his sanctity he is said to have been raised to the dignity of abbot, but this assertion is in the style of the Romish writers. There were no superiors among the brethren. Constantine could not be exalted in the Church, nor would he desire it, more than the Culdee who was sincere and devout in his simplicity and integrity. He reigned long, to experience that the highest honours in this world fell short of that happiness the godly alone can enjoy. It may be inferred how far short Constantine fell in respect of the great qualities of a sovereign, from his loss of the northern counties of England, which some of his predecessors claimed as their right by conquest, and others ruled, in lieu of which they maintained peace, which the English of those days were not able to maintain.

MALCOLM I.

Contemporaries, Edmund and Edred.

Malcolm, the son of Donal the Second, ascended the throne abdicated by Constantine, in 944. The most remarkable event of his reign was the restoration of Cumberland and Westmoreland to him, on condition of his maintaining the peace of the northern counties, and becoming the ally of Edmund, brother and successor of Athelstan, who wrested these counties from the Scots and Danes. The first two were returned to the sway of the Scots. The King of England being assassinated, his brother Edred, who succeeded him, required of Malcolm to fulfil the conditions of the treaty: the Scots consequently overrun the disturbed counties, and were rewarded with the plunder.

Malcolm was less fortunate in settling his own kingdom. An insurrection in Murray required his presence to suppress it. The chief of the insurgents, Cellach, their Maor-mor, was seized and punished; but his sept pursued the king, who encountered them in the Mearns, and was assassinated at Fetteresse by one of the men of the chief, 957. He reigned nine years.

To the above short and meagre account, we must add at some length the transactions of the southern counties in which Malcolm was concerned. The Danes, who remained in Northumberland after the former war, of which mention has been made, called a Dane of royal extraction, Avalass by name, from Ireland, where he had been in exile, and offered him the government. Edmund, seeing what storm of war threatened, gave Malcolm these counties on the conditions already related, requiring his oath to him as Lord of the counties. Malcolm easily reduced the Danes, afflicted by various calamities, into submission.

The Danes again broke faith with Edred, who succeeded his brother Edmund. It was seldom the Danes kept faith with the English, any more than with the Scots. They now rebelled, took many places, and fortified themselves in various parts of the kingdom, which they began to occupy; but the English, receiving ten thousand of the Scots as a subsidy, overwhelmed them with great loss. Malcolm returning home, gave himself wholly to the arts of peace, as he healed the wounds of war, and discountenanced sloth and luxury. He visited his people in various quarters; held meetings of the Scots almost in alternate years, and decreed justice. Of the end of this good king the accounts differ. The nobles diligently sought the perpetrators of the crime, and punished such as were seized, as they deserved.

INDULF.

Contemporary Sovereign, Edwin of England.[1]

On the demise of Malcolm, Indulf, son of Constantine the Second, assumed the reins of government. Though the sons of kings followed not in succession, as we see in the ancient Scottish reigns, the elections made were from the royal blood, and often of the nearest akin. Indulf settled all affairs at home and abroad, and sat down in profound tranquillity during the seven years of his reign. It was at this time that Edinburgh was ceded to the Scots, which at a subsequent period led to the cession of the Lothians.

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[1] Edwin and Edwig, identical terms; Edwig is the diminutive.

The Danes, bearing ill the friendship of the English and the Scots, a perpetual league being made against them, came in fifty ships into the Tay, and spread over the shores of Buchan, but were repulsed in the first attack. They again landed in Banffshire, and filled the country with alarm. Their appearance was so sudden and unexpected that all places were full of terror and dismay. Many were concealing their effects, and some were carrying them off to sea, which was the safest way to convey them from the rapacious foes, who searched all places, and with wonderful scent discovered all recesses.

Some had the courage to go against the enemy, to prevent their landing. Haco and Helric commanded the fleet. They, having attempted in vain the Lothians and Fife, steered to the Firth of Tay, where they were likewise prevented landing; they then passed to Angus, Mearns, Murray, and Buchan; nor were they admitted into either. They then raised their sails, and left the country. After all was tranquil, and thought secure, they came back in a few days to the shores of Boin, at the mouth of the river Cullen; and finding a convenient place, they landed their armies, before the noise awakened the inhabitants, who ran to hinder them.

As soon as Indulf was informed of their landing, he marched an army against them, and routed the first whom he met; the slaugher was not great, as their camp was near. The hostile forces being in sight of each other, the two armies were drawn out without delay, and were nearly equal in spirit and in strength. The fight was hot; and both armies fought with equal valour. But when Graham and Dunbar appeared from behind, with their followers, the Danes became confounded. Some had fled to their ships; others, blinded by fear, ran through unknown places; the greatest part met in a woody vale, to arrange their affairs as best they could. Indulf, who was forward in breaking their ranks, was slain. This battle was called, the battle of the Bands. His death happened in the year, A.D. 961.

He ruled the Scots nine years and three months. He had the good of his people at heart, and would have been one of the best of kings, had he lived longer His actions proved the courage and capacity of the monarch in war; more caution would have added a quality not less necessary in a leader than valour. A successful commander must be cool and deliberate. But how few characters are complete in all essential qualifications.

DUFF.

Duff, *Dubh*, (black) the son of Malcolm I., ascended the throne after the demise of Indulf. He made Culen, son of Indulf, governor of Cumberland, and sent him against the restless Islanders. The noble youth, with great attendants, met with little resistance, and made the people pay tribute, besides what victuals they brought of their own free-will; and certain sums of money were imposed on families. Culen was more severe against them than against those who ought to have restrained the unruly. It was, however, decreed, that those whose negligence allowed what was unjust, should pay to the king. This denunciation struck such terror into the careless and slothful, that many left their homes, and went to Ireland, where they lived by honest industry, which, if they had so done in their own country, they needed not to have left. As this pleased the common people, so it offended the nobles, the relatives of the exiles, who approved of their usual indolent habits. These, at first, in small meetings, opened their minds, as they found the people approving and consenting. They began to blame the king openly, and despised the counsel of mean priests, who would compel men, born in respectable situations, to slavish occupations, and who were endeavouring to destroy all distinction, and blend the high and low in one common mass. This state of things, were it followed, would be most fatal to the nobility. It would be necessary to elect another king who would continue the people in the institutions of their ancestors, who, by their prudence and valour, raised the kingdom, from a small beginning, to be so powerful.

Under these circumstances, the king began to be afflicted with an illness, the nature of which was not understood. All remedies were tried in vain. It was rumoured that he was poisoned. Whether there was some appearance of this, or mere suspicion, the rumour spread, and was believed. He was in a continual sweat; his body was pining away; his strength was failing. His medical men could not discover the cause, so different was it from all that was common or known.

Recourse was had to occult art. Donal, who was keeper of the castle, a person in whom the king placed great confidence, found out, from a worthless young woman, that her aged mother and associates were conspiring against the life of the king; that they met at night, to hold a waxen image of the king before a slow fire. The witch was apprehended, tortured, and punished. The process of melting the waxen image, it was believed, caused the sweating disease of the king.[2] Duff recovered his strength, and continued his exertions to establish order, and protect the honest and industrious throughout his dominions, seizing and punishing robbers in Moray, Ross, and Caithness. He brought the chief ones to Fores, and executed them there. Donal, keeper of the castle, when he could not save his own friends by prayer or entreaty, became incensed against the king. Considering his services to be ill rewarded, and his fidelity distrusted, he began to entertain thoughts of disaffection, and to study means of revenge; for he esteemed his own services of high importance to the king, and that he ought not to be refused in matters of greater consequence than he asked. His wife, too, inflamed the mind of her husband, as she feared the safety of her own relations who might have been amenable to justice. She counselled him to prevent executions on which the inexorable king was bent, while he had him in his power; suggested that the king ought to listen to his faithful counsel, but who, instead, refused to yield the smallest point in his rigorous conduct; now it was time for persons to look to themselves; and who would protect friends, were those who could, to neglect them?

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[2] Buchanan.

Having now the life of the king in his hands, the opportunity should not be allowed to slip by, and the act could be easily concealed, for who would suspect such a faithful servant? Thus counselled and assisted by word and deed, the mind of Donal was so wholly biassed, that he resolved to embrace the favourable time, when the king, wearied after transacting much business, lay in profound sleep. His servants, being too well attended to, and heated with drink, lay senseless. Donal strangled the king. There was no witness of the murder; not a drop of blood was to be seen, nor anything to give rise to suspicion. With the greatest secresy, in the darkness of night, the body was interred under a little bridge two miles distant from the Abbey of Kinross, and a green turf laid over it, that no traces might discover the grave. The servants who assisted were removed hence.

On the following day, there was a rumour that the king had been abstracted by some invisible agents, and that he was never more to appear. Donal flew into the king's apartment, but no symptom of violence appeared. He accused the servants of conspiracy against the king, and of taking his life. He inspected all places, but no trace of the body could be found. Every one, astonished and dismayed, fearing for their own safety, departed secretly. The good king was thus cut off in the flower of his age; having no fault, unless too much zeal for the good of his subjects could be so called; which zeal was interpreted to be too much rigour in executing justice. He reigned four years and six months. He died in 966.

As soon as convenient, a council was called to elect a new king.

CULEN.

"At this time, by a singular anomaly, while the Lothians, an undubitable part of Scotland, were subject to the rule of England, the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, integral parts of England, were under Scottish dominion, and generally ruled by the presumptive heir to the throne."

Culen, the son of Indulf, being ruler of Cumberland, was elected king. In the assembly, before the question was discussed about the death of king Duff, it was asserted that prodigies were seen that indicated secrets which would be revealed. Some were extraordinary, and some that took the attention of the vulgar; all tending to one end, and regarding the death of the late king, that should be avenged before any other transaction took place. Culen hastened to Moray, that he should have better information, and discover how, and by whom the crime was perpetrated. Donal was suspected, and, being conscious of guilt, fled. Finding a vessel at the mouth of the river Spey, he went on board, dreading that he would be interrogated by torture. His hurry, troubled countenance, and few attendants, who had seized on a boat offered by chance and without preparation, left no doubt on the minds of all who saw him, of his guilt. They assailed him with the most opprobrious terms, as an impious, sacrilegious regicide, and gave vent to all that rage could suggest. Though he fled before the arrival of the king, and was, as he expected, beyond the reach of his army, he could not escape the vengeance of the King of kings. The populace followed, uttering execrations, and wishing every evil that guilt merited should follow him, till the vessel was out of sight.

Notice of so intrepid a flight was brought to Culen. He compelled Donal's wife and three sons, by torture, to confess all. The perpetration of the crime was no longer a secret, and the body of the murdered king was found where it was interred. The examination was public. The magistrates had difficulty in restraining the multitude from laying violent hands on the wife,—the participator in Donal's crime. Tossed by the winds, the vessel that carried the guilty governor of the castle was wrecked on the shore. He was seized, brought to justice, and executed with his family. His castle was burned to the ground, and the body of king Duff was honourably interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors.

These proceedings at first conciliated the minds of all good men to Culen, as much as the rest of his life merited their just hatred. The good character of his predecessor, made his appear worse. Whether it was his natural disposition, now free of all restraint, or that his rule made him gave loose reins to the worst passions, his nature seemed wholly corrupted. Culen, in a short time, steered on an opposite course, and went to the extreme. The youth became weakened by luxury, and were fallen by vices into the lowest degradation. Inclination, and uncontrolled desires, made them follow his example. Nothing was sacred in his eyes ; and his shameless associates aided and abetted his profligacies.

When admonished by the prudent, he partly defended the youth, on account of their age, partly confessed that such was not right ; but, in general, he forbade the elders to offer counsel or to give admonition, and threatened the wise, were they to use, what he called too much freedom. The strength of the nation was in the nobles and rulers of the people; but many of them, as well as the king, feared not that the martial spirit would be broken by free living, and should render them unfit for, or averse to the discipline of war; they, therefore, thought not of coercing a flourishing nation. The more sagacious, seeing no use while there was danger in remonstrating, withdrew from court. The king, as if liberated from troublesome advisers, and silent spectators who were shocked at the enormities of all who were indulging in what they denominated pleasures, plunged into the greatest excesses. Night and day his hall rung with lascivious songs and drunken clamour. The highest praise was lavished on the shameless, weak, dissolute youth; flatterers were his constant companions; splendour and magnificence were displayed by royal authority. Severity was tempered by courtesy of government; and the pain of labour was lightened by the remission of spirit.

But when means were wanted to continue these, the wealthy were despoiled by the king, by fictitious charges. The plebeians, who could not supply what was urgently demanded, were oppressed and trampled on. Any who should displease, were despised as mean rustics. Information was early obtained against the wealthy. Calumny was quickly spread, and plotting and treasonable measures were brought against those who were marked as obstinate and uncompliable. In this license of all that was unjust and flagitious, passed the third year of this king's reign. Luxury itself began to be intolerable; acting through fear and sloth on those who were amenable to punishment, the king being unable to perform the functions of government; debilitated in body and mind by intemperance; a corrupt court; the bold were elated with hope of booty, accustomed to all manner of injustice which was practised with impunity. Bloodshed and robbery were common.

In this state of affairs, a council was convoked at Scone, to deliberate on matters of importance. The king was roused from his lethargy, as if arisen from slothful sleep, and, threatened by danger, began to consult his associates. As no way of escape was obvious, he resolved to go to the meeting, thinking his presence would produce an effect that would prevent the influential from entering on subjects that the king alone should advise.

On his way to Scone, with a great but effeminate attendance, he was slain at Methven by the thane of the county, whose daughter he had violated. His death was happy news to all, and freed the people of a monster, 970.

Culen reigned four years and six months. Nothing good is said of him.

KENNETH II.

Contemporary, Edgar of England.

Kenneth, son of Malcolm I., brother of Duff, succeeded Culen. He was a different person in mind and manner. Much labour awaited him, in consequence of the bad government of his predecessor. He manifested the greatest zeal in correcting the evil habits acquired by the youth. The propensities of the ill-disposed were not easily changed or controlled. But he soon had more to do. The Britons of Strathclyde[1] conceiving, under the last government, it would be easy to free themselves of the conditions under which they obtained peace in a former reign, made preparations for war; and had it been sooner, they might have obtained any terms. But Kenneth was a different person. He collected forces, and met them in a manner which they little expected; he conquered them, and added their possessions to his own lands.[2]

Edgar, king of England, being harassed by the Danes, required of Kenneth, agreeably to treaty, to restore tranquillity in the provinces over which the Scottish monarchs ruled. The Scots went South, and carried off the son of the Northumbrian chief. They scarcely were returned home, when the Danes made their appearance in the Tay, with a numerous fleet. Kenneth engaged the Lochlins at Loncarty, near Perth; and expelled them.

The Scandinavians often interrupted the public tranquillity of all Britain. It was again announced that a numerous fleet had anchored at Redhead, in Angusshire. They held a consultation, and deliberated whether they should land on the nearest shore, or wend their course to England. Many insisted they should go to the richer country, that would better supply them with necessaries, and where they could reap a greater harvest of spoil, and where they might, if they required, find auxiliaries. The Danes there, they made no doubt, would join their countrymen. Mostly all concurred in the motion, their reasoning being so obvious. They were aware that in Scotland the nation was of a fiercer spirit; a hardy race of a rugged soil, and more patient of labour. They declared they never approached them without signal calamity; that were they to be victorious, what would they obtain? and were they vanquished, they would suffer the utmost extremity.

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[1] Strathclyde: *Alclyde*; *baile cluath*, their chief town, Dumbarton.

[2] The shires of Dumbarton and Renfrew, with part of Lanarkshire.

Others, on the contrary, asserted, that were they to make a descent on England, they would be attacked by the two nations; that the best plan was, first to vanquish the Scots, or, at least, disable them from assisting the English, and then they might overcome the latter when deprived of foreign aid. This opinion prevailed. It opened their eyes to a double conquest. Many other arguments were used to enforce it. They were not forgetful of how much cruelties their fathers and friends suffered in Scotland; that it was their duty to avenge them, as well as attend to the purpose they intended to prosecute in the two kingdoms. People more bent on booty than possession, as those pirates were, are seldom of one mind, and easily swayed by the most likely prospects presented. The last appeared the more cogent arguments.

The fleet being brought to the mouth of the river Esk, they landed their forces. They spoiled the nearest places, and began to waste the country with fire and sword. They spared neither age nor sex. They laid waste Angusshire to the Firth of Tay. Those who escaped the cruelties of the enemy reported their proceedings to the king, who was then at Stirling. He, consulting those about him, appointed a day of meeting, and had sent to those at a distance to come forward as soon as possible, with all the assistance they could bring, He himself marched all the forces near, to reconnoitre, and to put a stop to devastation. A great multitude soon flocked to the king. He encamped at the confluence of the Tay and Earn. Having drawn his forces together, he met the enemy, who had crossed the Tay, on their way to lay siege to the town of Perth. When the Lochlins came in sight, the Scots were impatient of delay, rushed forward to be revenged on the spoilers of their country. The army was drawn up on level ground, and advanced against the foe. The Northmen stood on the opposite hill, where they could not be attacked to advantage, and rained showers of arrows and javelins. The fight at last commenced at the base of the mountain. Much blood was shed. The victory was doubtful, when the leader of the enemy cried aloud, "Victory!" and "Victory!" was re-echoed through all ranks. They were carried with an irrestible impetus, so that they broke through two wings of the Scottish army, and compelled them to give way; but, rallying behind the third division, under the immediate command of the king, they again returned to the combat; and taking a more advantageous position, fought with renewed vigour, and repelled the enemy, who, as usual, fled to their ships.

This decisive defeat of the Lochlins promised lasting peace to the king; but commotions in Ross-shire disturbed domestic quiet. These being suppressed, the leaders were executed. One of them, Cruthinetus, was the son of Fenella, a lady of the Mearns, of whom we shall soon hear more. The king persuaded the people to obey their chiefs, who desired the welfare of the state, and acted for their interest. He first resolved to reform the discipline of his own house, and having secured tranquillity in society, he established the succession in his family. From this act may be deduced the sanguinary disputes which ensued between the families of Duff and Kenneth. As he wished his own life to be an example to his friends, he was most desirous that their morals would be worthy of imitation. The palace was cleared of the minions of the profligate Culen. He himself attended councils, and decreed justice; coerced those who had too much licence under the former government, to submit to just rules; punished all who were guilty of bloodshed and rapine; and rewarded, in a suitable manner, the honest and industrious.

Kenneth was highly endowed with the qualities most suitable to kings, in war and peace; and obtained merited praise for his fortitude, constancy, and equity. But one act stained his character, and was deemed worse in him, as it was least expected from his humane disposition. The king was old, and if death should soon happen, the succession in his family might be broken. His son Malcolm was young, and though possessed of excellent dispositions, he was of too tender an age to govern a fierce people, whose ancient custom was to elect, not the heir or nearest relative of the departed king, but the fittest one of the royal blood. By the favour of the nobility, the son of Duff was opposed to Malcolm. He was chief of the Scottish youth, and in every respect praise-worthy. He was prince of Cumberland, and, by custom, the next to rule the kingdom.

This, Malcolm the king saw would stand opposed to his son, were he not removed in his own time. He could not venture in any open way; old use and custom, along with the favour of the nobles, were insurmountable obstacles; but he was resolved to have him removed, and did use private means. The prince of Cumberland died; there were signs of poison on the body, but no suspicion attached to the king. He lamented his death; and as often as he spoke of him, he made the most honourable mention of his memory. He caused his funeral to be attended with the greatest show of respect and honour; and every attention was paid to the last duties to so near a kinsman. But, notwithstanding all precaution, the most considerative began to suspect him; yet, owing to the general opinion concerning his sanctity, these were careful in expressing their sentiments. In his speeches, it was evident that the king was trying to sound their minds, to see or find out how the people stood in respect of the ancient laws,—how the use and custom could be annulled, and how they would receive the new rules he was establishing for electing a king. He impressed upon them that the eldest son should be the heir apparent, in accordance with the institutions of all nations; that kings removed by death, should be succeeded by the eldest in their families; or, if young, as might happen, that tutors and guardians should rule in the name of the heirs.

Although many seemed to accord in this opinion, yet the suspicion privately entertained regarding the death of Malcolm, occurred to others, though fear of the king made them observe silence. In the meantime, ambassadors arrived from England, to condole with the king on the death of his relative; at the same time asking that another ruler or governor should be appointed to maintain peace, and perpetuate the tie of concord between the adjacent realms.

The king, for the advantage of either nation, should observe the ancient friendship, and, to suppress suspicion, thought this embassy most advantageous. He called a meeting of the nobles at Scone, and talked of many things that were against the ancient custom, owing to which were seditions, and injustice done to the children of kings, as murders, bloodshed, exile. From the adverse circumstance, he endeavoured to show the less turbulent meetings of other nations, greater regard being paid to kindred blood where children succeeded their fathers. When he referred to the council what they resolved in this matter, he produced the demands of the king of England, to elect a ruler for Cumberland, and left it to the votes of all; sametime, he expected from his moderation, that what he sought would be readily granted; that they would appoint his son, who, he endeavoured by all means should be the future king.

Constantine, son of Culen, and Grim, nephew of King Duff, were proposed; then the meeting proposed to correct the law; others disapproved; but Malcolm, the king's son, was appointed prince of Cumberland, and the law was confirmed, as far as that the eldest son of the king should be successor to the throne, and, in the event of the heir not being of age, tutors and guardians should be appointed. Many other things were settled beside succession of the legitimate heir.

Whether true, or it only seemed so, a voice was heard from heaven, that disturbed the repose of the king, accusing him of the blood of the innocent Malcolm. A voice might have been heard, but it was internal: a punishment is threatened to the guilty, when there is no visible danger. When all seemed to his desire, the peace of the king was disturbed,—he could find no rest. A frightful figure appeared before his troubled mind.

At break of day the king rose, and fled to the bishops and monks, made confession, and received absolution. He was to expiate his crimes by building churches, and bestowing munificence on the clergy. He was lavish in gifts, and indefatigable in visiting sepulchres of holy men, in making pilgrimages, and giving alms. He bestowed honours and dignities on monks and priests in great profusion; nor did he omit anything that was recommended by the credulous, or thought necessary to expiate his sins.

He came to Mearns, to venerate the bones of Palladius, the most holy man: and went to the nearest castle, delighted with the building, and the groves, of which no traces are now to be found. The lady of the castle was Fenella, of whom mention has been already made; she entertained evil towards the king, not only for her son Crathilint who was executed for murder, but also for her relatives Constantine and Grim, who were excluded by the new law regarding succession to the throne, from the hope of reigning. She, however, concealed her resentment; and the king was honourably entertained. After dinner he inspected the scenery, and more especially the structure of the castle. Fenella led him into by-paths, where men were in ambuscade, who shot him with arrows, as she contrived. Fenella soon expiated her crime by her blood.

Kenneth reigned twenty-four years. He was a good king, and also illustrious in all his actions but the one which stained his fair fame. The blood of a kinsman was shed, to ensure the succession to his own family; and little thought he that his own blood was to expiate the guilt which he was made to believe was pardoned by the vain oblations he offered at the altar of Mother Church. He died 994.

CONSTANTINE III.

Constantine, son of Culen, usurped the throne. He was surnamed the bold. He was most ambitious of governing; but ruled the nation only two years. To obtain the object of his ambition, he used all possible means, by address and familiarity. He solicited; complained that he and others were circumvented by Kenneth, and excluded from the government by new laws, that were alien to use and custom, which were most iniquitous to himself and other relatives, who yielded through fear. What was more foolish than to yield to what might prove most disastrous to a nation? a people to allow themselves to be governed by a child, perhaps a female! Would the ancient kingdom submit to such? would the nobles submit to tutors and guardians, who would make use of the name of one who could hardly distinguish right from wrong; persons who could have no interest in their welfare; persons that might be the most unfit, through incapacity, to rule over a brave and warlike nation? Were boys to lead armies against the Romans, to defend their country, and maintain their liberty? Nay, how could they meet the Picts and the Danes, not to say the "King of the World?" What more could be said, than that God threatens with calamities the guilty, and that the people are to suffer for the sin of their sovereign? Do we despise the foreknowledge of divinations, or do we fall into the snares with our eyes open? The adulators of Kenneth winked at bloodshed. We have known the avarice of kindred, who would have profited by the king's children, none of them adults.

So Constantine went about, uttering every conceivable calumny against the late king, and those who were inclined to submit to his new laws. He persuaded many to keep by the custom of their ancestors. Trusting to the assent of the multitude, he came to Scone, and was proclaimed king.

Malcolm, hearing that Constantine was reigning, called his friends together, to deliberate on the chief affairs. Some advised to try the minds of the nobles before he should attempt anything against a person so popular, and not to entangle himself and friends by factious men, or to waste his forces, but to take counsel from the elders. The young and daring nobles spurned these counsels; they advised to advance against the usurper, and denounce him as a common enemy; not to allow him time to establish himself; they condemned all slow and timid measures. The young king, approving of what the last suggested and counselled, marched with ten thousand men that were collected on the occasion, against the foe. Nor did Constantine fail in making preparations. He raised a great army in a short time, so that Malcolm had little chance in meeting him. The latter dismissed his forces and withdrew to Cumberland. Kenneth, his brother, born of a concubine, thinking it disgraceful to yield with such facility, persuaded companies of brave men to follow him. He met Constantine at the river Forth, near Stirling. The banks were high, and it was difficult to find a ford. Famine and pestilence obliged them to dismiss their forces for a year. The kingdom was divided into two parties. The people were suffering grievously. Robberies were common.

Malcolm, with his forces, aided the English against the Danes. Constantine, taking advantage of his absence, and the calamities of the time, thought to suppress the adverse faction. He marched with a great force to the Lothians. Kenneth, commanded by his brother to watch the motions of Constantine, met him at the mouth of the river Almond. Being inferior in numbers, he made use of strategy. Drawing up his army, the sun and wind favouring him, he fortified the sides of the river as much as possible. That circumstance contributed much to the victory. The men of Constantine, trusting to numbers, despising timid precaution, rushed into battle. The sun in their faces, the wind stirring up dust that blinded them, the forces of Constantine could scarcely look towards their opponents. There was great slaughter on both sides. The leaders met, fought, and fell by mutual wounds. Thus the short reign of Constantine ended a year and six months after he usurped the throne. He was killed in 996.

We see some of the evil consequences of the guilt of the former king, whose selfish ambition made him commit the foulest crime, for establishing the hereditary rule of government in his family. His son was shut out for a time, and the people severely suffered between the two factions. Internal war prevented their domestic occupations, and want caused disease. "The Lord visits the iniquity of the fathers on the children."

KENNETH.

Kenneth, surnamed *Grim*, so called from his bodily strength, a nephew of King Duff, next assumed the throne, of which he kept possession during eight years. Constantine being dead, the men of his faction brought Grim to Scone, and crowned him. The nobles were divided; some were bribed, and some were solicited by ambassadors from Malcolm. Grim threw the ambassadors into prison, and kept them in chains. Finding that his behaviour to the ambassadors offended the influential, being contrary to the rights of nations, he attempted open war. Report of the great forces that Grim commanded distracted Malcolm's plans; numbers were daily deserting, and many in the army of Malcolm were privately for Grim, who possessed many qualities, which gained some, and conciliated others; a tall stature, courteous, and humane conduct; great dignity of appearance, joined with decorum, in all his actions; nor wanted he severity on necessary occasions. He was resolute and determined. Though quick in his movements, great prudence was observed in all his steps. Men promised themselves the enjoyment of every happiness under him. In the present state of affairs, Malcolm dared not commit his fortune to rashness. By the advice of friends he dismissed the greatest part of his army, resolving, with a few regiments, to prevent the enemy crossing the Forth.

Meantime, Fodhad, the bishop, then in great authority among all men, owing to their opinion of his sanctity, visited the factions alternately, and effected that a truce should be made to last three months; Grim withdrawing to Angus, and Malcolm to Cumberland. During this interval, they appointed mutual arbiters to settle affairs between them; nor ceased Fodhad to afford his good services, till conditions of peace were agreed on and settled,—namely, that Grim should reign during life; that Malcolm, after his demise, should inherit the kingdom, and the law of succession made by Kenneth, should be sanctioned to his children; that the Wall of Severus should be rebuilt between them; all within the Wall should be yielded to Malcolm, that without to Grim; that they should be content with this boundary; nor were they to aid an enemy of either party. Peace was ratified, and all were pleased. It was observed with strict fidelity for the space of almost eight years, until violated by Grim. Having given specimens of excellent chieftainship in turbulent times, his industry became remiss by leisure; he became wholly immersed in pleasures, owing to want of employment; luxury and avarice gained on him; extravagance occasioned want, and want made him harass the wealthy with unjust demands. His repacious calls brought dangers on the recusants, and whoever answered his demands gave with a grudge. The elders admonished; and, although he appeared inclined to reform, he still persevered in his nefarious ways; nor was it safe to use freedom of speech. When exasperated, or imagining himself to be insulted, he marched against such as incurred his displeasure, and used them more cruelly than a foreign enemy would have done. He spared neither men nor villages, nor castle nor land. What he could not carry away, he corrupted; sacred or profane, nothing was inviolate.

Malcolm was assisting with the English against the Danes, when he was called home, and invited to the government of the whole kingdom. He was moved by the indignities offered to friends, illustrious and innocent, by one who was, in consequence of his abuse of power, daily losing authority.

A great concourse of people met Malcolm. Grim, who had been favoured by men in former times, was now deserted by the greatest part of the nobles. He, however, roused himself, and marched against Malcolm with what forces he could collect. They had pitched their camps so near that they could not long refrain from hostilities. It being the day of Ascension, Malcolm observed the festival, suspecting no movement from the hostile camp. But, when the design of Grim was made known to him, he got his own men ready under arms; and, although he expected victory in so good a cause, yet he sent to apprise the enemy, so that none should pollute the memory of a day so sacred with the blood of citizens. He, however, was on his guard, and was ready to act, if obliged. Malcolm showed to his own an omen of victory, which was the fear of the enemy, ready to take every advantage that presented itself, distrusting his own cause, notwithstanding the reverence that should be observed on such a festival.

Then, well admonished and prepared, they rushed together. Grim, suddenly deserted by his men, was wounded in the head, and taken. He was, after the barbarous manner of the times, deprived of sight; nor did he long survive his sufferings. Grief of mind succeeded to bodily pain. The action took place at Monevaird, in Strathearn. Malcolm used the vanquished with clemency, and he took care that Grim should be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors. Having laid aside the memory of all offences, he received the hostile faction into favour. He then proceeded to Scone to the legal assembly, after he had entered on government, as the law confirmed the choice of kings, carried by his father for the suffrages of all.

Ethelred, King of England, having almost depopulated Cumberland, the English fleet attempted to circumnavigate Scotland, with a view of intimidation. A treaty was then made on the former basis of common defence. A.D. 1004.

MALCOLM II.

Contemporary, Ethelred of England.

Malcolm instantly entered on government, and resolved to restore the Scottish state, torn by faction, to its former prosperous condition. His rule was vigorous. He defended his kingdom from the attempts of the Lochlins, and the incursions of the English. Three successive attacks were made by the former during the first eleven years of his reign. The Danes, who obtained a firm footing in England, directed their attention in a special manner to Scotland, which they were in hopes of subduing. Sweno made great preparations to invade Scotland. He ordered his viceroys in Norway and in Denmark, to raise a powerful army, and equip a suitable fleet. Attempts were made to obtain a settlement on the north-east coast of Scotland. The first was at Mortclach in Moray, in 1010, where the invaders were routed, and fled the country. The second descent was made on the shores of Angus. The Danes, though discouraged by two defeats, made a third descent on the west of Buchan, near Slaines Castle. They were soon overthrown. At last Sweno entered into a treaty with Malcolm, by which Scotland was henceforth freed from the piratical incursions of his countrymen.

Malcolm, burying all animosities in oblivion, appointed just and pious noblemen, to put down factions, to seize thieves and murderers, and restrain the licentious. He sent these to the provinces, and gave them authority to compel the people to pursue agriculture and commerce. Being now free of foreign enemies, Malcolm wrested the Lothians from the Earl of Northumberland, and attached them to the Scottish monarchy. During these transactions, Sweno, son of Harold, King of the Danes, fled from home, and came to Scotland, where he was converted to Christianity. He passed into England with great forces, and soon overcame the English. Olaus the Scandinavian, and Enec, entered into Scotland with a great army. They roamed through Moray, slaying all who opposed them, and plundering every thing, sacred and profane. Collected in one body, they assailed the towers, and other places that were well fortified. Malcolm, having gathered an army, pitched his tent not far from them. Next day, seeing the multitude of Danes, the people were struck with great terror. The king tried to comfort them, but he could not effect much. A noise was raised by a few who were willing to appear to possess greater courage, and instantly they all rushed forward, without their leaders' orders, to attack the enemy, and met the weapons of the Danes, who pressed forward in a circle to surround them, and, falling on them, put them to flight. The king having received a wound in the head, was carried by his men into an adjacent grove, where his head was dressed, then taking horse, he escaped. Seeing the Danes victorious, the keeper of the tower at Nairn became alarmed, and surrendered; but the garrison suffered the greatest cruelties from the ruthless foe. The tower, situated in a proper place, strongly fortified on a peninsula, where the sea advanced into a narrow channel, was deserted for fear of the cruelty of the Danes, whose intentions were to settle in Moray. They sent home vessels to bring their wives and children to them. The captives were suffering all kinds of hardship.

Malcolm marched against the enemy with greater forces than at first, having gone to the county of Marr. The Scots feared the Northmen, owing to their cruelties, and the latter were not void of apprehension, in an unknown country, and far from the sea. The blood shed of three brave men alarmed the Scots, viz. Kenneth of the Isles, Grim of Earn, and Dunbar of the Lothians, all thanes. Having fled to a place that was once a garrison, here, surrounded by a wall or ditch and felled timber, they faced the enemy, and beat them back. Enec was slain. His men were infuriated, and acted with greater alacrity, when almost in a moment the Danes fled, and the Scots pursued. Olaus, the other leader, found persons who knew the way, and set out for Moray. He was pursued, and his men perished.

Such was the end of the great army. Sweno bore the disaster with great equanimity. He sent subsidies against the Scotch, as supplement of the old army, under the leader Camus, who was at first carried to the Firth of Forth. The inhabitants rose and hindered his landing; he then sailed to a promontory of Angus, and having landed his men, he ravaged the whole country. When at Panbride he pitched his camp; and, learning from scouts that the Scots were within two miles of him, he prepared his men for fight. On the third day the battle commenced with such obstinacy as new hope and former hatred incited. The Scots at last prevailed. Camus attempted to cross the mountains with his army, through which he understood there was a way to Moray. Before he had proceeded two miles, he was surrounded by the pursuers, and perished with all his men. An obelisk stands as a monument of the battle and victory, named "Camus Cross," being a long large stone pitched on end, in memory of the discomfiture of the Danish leader. Another company perished at Brechin, where also a monument was raised: a few made their way to their ships, and sailed away, but being driven about with adverse winds some days; they were forced on the shore of Buchan, and anchored. In want of the necessaries of life, they landed five hundred to plunder the country; Mernan, the thane of the place, drove them, excluded from the sea, to a hill, where they defended themselves for some time by stones, injuring those that approached them. The Scots exhorting each other, advanced against them in great force. They were overcome, and slain to a man. Long afterwards, the wind driving away the sand in which they were interred, large bones were exposed, proving the great stature of the men of that age.

Nor was Sweno vanquished by this calamity; he sent his son Canute with a new levy to Scotland. Malcolm, having left his soldiers in Buchan, not yet sufficiently recruited after the former battle, the Danes came with an army against him, driving away spoil. The king dared not yet commit the state to the chance of battle; he thought it best to hinder the foe from laying the land waste, and to harass him with light skirmishes, hoping for better success in a land devastated by the calamity of war, and now almost deserted. He began to suffer from want of all necessaries. When he would follow that counsel for some days, it happened, the enemy knowing his intentions, and supposing the Scots distrusted their own powers, they so pressed forward that a battle was inevitable. Then all fiercely demanded the signal to fight. The armies were about to engage without the order of leaders. Malcolm drew up his men in battle-array. The fight commenced, both armies infuriated with rage. The contest was continued with such desperation, that neither army departed conquerors. Although the Scots claimed the victory, so many fell, and most of the nobles being slain, the survivors were so worn with labour, and so dispirited, that they returned into their camp, and allowed the fugitives to retire unscathed.

On the following day, when the commanders respectively viewed their men, the great losses were apparent. As the priests were the intercessors of peace, they were not unwillingly heard by both parties, and the following terms were proposed :—That the Danes should depart to Moray and Buchan; that neither should harass the other, while Malcolm and Sweno lived, or the one bring aid against the other; that the land on which they fought should be a consecrated sepulchre of the dead. The Northmen removing thence, Malcolm had in charge to inter the remains of all who fell in battle. This being accomplished, a meeting was announced to be held at Scone, where those who merited well of their country should receive as reward the king's lands, to be divided among them; the nobility, on the other hand, ceded to the king, that when any of them should die, their children should, for the first twenty years of their age, be under his ward, and that he should have all the profit, except what was spent in their education ; that the power of settling the youth should be by authority of the king, and they should restore the gift to him. "This custom," says Buchanan, "was received from the English, or rather Danes, as it is observed in parts of Normandy." Then the king resolved to repair the devastations of war, and replaced or repaired many sacred places overturned by the enemy. He rebuilt towers that were delapidated, and erected new ones. He established peace by wise laws, encouraging the virtuous and industrious. He endowed institutions in towns. He resolved to adopt new titles from neighbours, more with a view to change than from necessity.

Malcolm was engaged in wars during so much of his time, that less opportunity was given him to promote the welfare of the state. His reign was glorious. He held the government more than thirty years. Malcolm was among the best of monarchs. The year in which he died became memorable by the deluges of rivers ; truly innundations of the sea ; and a few days after the summer solstice, there was keen frost, and a fall of snow, so that a great famine ensued, as might be expected These unusual incidents were regarded as great prodiges. The death of the king, and the destruction of the regicides and servants, which was regarded as a summary punishment of the Divine vengeance, and the unusual and unnatural events that caused the famine, made the year long to be remembered. He died A.D. 1034.

DUNCAN I.

Contemporaries, Sweno of Sweden, and Edward of England.

Duncan, his grandson, and son of his daughter Beatrice, succeeded Malcolm the Second. He was endowed with dispositions that made him beloved by all, and that would have made him a good subject, though not a great king. His grandsire had slain Kenneth the Fourth, surnamed Grim, and supplanted his family. Kenneth's grand-daughter, the Lady Gruach, was first married to a chief and the maor-mor of Moray, who was burnt with many others. Her second husband was Macbeth, who was grandson of Malcolm the Second. Duncan was Prince of Cumberland in those difficult times. Bands of Danes were roaming over the country. The ruler was faithful in performing his services to the English king; and he strictly observed the conditions on which the Scots promised their aid, and visited the provinces yearly to hear complaints. Nor did he allow, as far as he could, the powerful to oppress the weak. His upright behaviour gained him the good wishes of the just, although it might not have gained for him the approbation of all men. But it is as king we have to speak of Duncan, in whose reign few events of importance happened.

Banco, thane of Lochaber, was more severe in punishing the transgressors of the law, than the use and custom of the times seemed to warrant. He was expelled from the country, after being treated in a barbarous manner. He made his way to the king, and complained that he was spoiled of his effects, and almost killed. The king sent a herald to summon the perpetrators to justice. He was treated in the most contumelious manner, and then slain. After committing the atrocious deed, a conspiracy was formed. Macdual was at the head of the conspiracy. He, despairing of pardon, incited the faction, and prepared for open war. He summoned the Islanders to his aid, and invited the Irish by the hope of booty. He made known to them the character of the king, and the prospect of success he had in view. By inflammatory speeches, he roused the ignorant to the hope of enjoying, as he made them believe, ancient liberty.

An army sent against them by the king, whose commander was of the rank of the nobility, being routed, the leader fell into the hands of the insurgents, and was beheaded. The king called a meeting of the nobles, and consulted them on the most proper measures to be taken. Macbeth, cousin-german of the king, was the readiest to give his opinions; he affirmed, that the ill success of the army resulted from cowardice; adding, if the business was intrusted to him, he would soon suppress the conspiracy, and bring the guilty to justice; that, with Banco, who knew the country, he would restore peace in the West.

Macbeth was a man of courage and exalted ideas. He was well qualified to command an army and to rule, but was cruel in his severities, and too ready to exceed all bounds of moderation. Being sent with high commission, he soon convinced the Islanders and Irish, that whatever they were told of the mildness and sloth of the sovereign, his minister, or commander of the forces brought against them, was of a different spirit. Enterprizing, bold, and vigorous in executing his commission, all who opposed Macbeth, and fought bravely, perished to a man. Macdual, shut up with a few in a stronghold, despairing of any relief, or means of resistance, was obliged to surrender. Macbeth sent his head to the king at Perth, and hung his body in chains, in the most conspicuous place in Lochaber. Those who were taken and confined, were strangled in prison.

Domestic troubles being suppressed, greater were brought by the Danes. Sweno, the most powerful of the Scandinavian kings, when dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons, viz. England to Harold, Norway to Sweno, and Denmark to Canute. Harold dying shortly after his father, Canute succeeded him in England. Sweno arrived in Scotland with a great fleet; and landed his army in Fife. Macbeth was sent against him, and Banco was left with the king, to preside over military affairs. Duncan, as awakened from an easy sleep, went against the foreign foe. The armies met, and fought with great obstinacy near Culross. The enemy was routed; but the victor gained the day more from the inequality of the ground than valour, and manifested little spirit in pursuing the fugitives. After arriving at Perth, where they watched the motions of the Danes, the vanquished were seen sitting among the victors.

Sweno expected soon to obtain all Scotland; and marched with all his forces to besiege Duncan in Perth, his fleet being sent round to the Tay. Duncan trusted sufficiently to his present position, as Macbeth was near with new subsidies; but, Banco suggested other means, to send ambassadors to Macbeth, to desire him to halt on his march, and to propose treating with Sweno of surrendering. The Lochlins indulging to excess, as their king was sure of obtaining all Scotland by surrender, Banco received Macbeth and his forces into the enemy's camp: a great slaughter ensued. Sweno, and a few who were less inebriated, got on board a ship. The greatest slaughter was made of the sailors, so that scarcely as many could be collected as were sufficient to navigate the fleet. The king sailed back to his own country; but many vessels, tossed by the violence of the tempest, were driven on rocky coasts, and perished.

The Scots had converted the victory gained without loss or bloodshed, into joy. Soon, however, another fleet, sent by Canute as a subsidy to Sweno, appeared at Kinghorn, and landed. Banco was sent with a great force against these Danes. He attacked the first he met with great slaughter, the rest were easily driven to their ships. Banco, it was said, sold burial-ground at a high price, and the place where the strangers were interred is shown at Inch-Colme. So ill-fated were the expeditions, that the Danes swore they would never come again in a hostile manner to Scotland.

All things were succeeding prosperously at home and abroad, and flourishing in peace. Macbeth, who always despised the inactivity of his cousin-german, cherished secret hopes in his mind, from a dream he had, in which three weird-sisters appeared to him, and who seemed to be of an awful and unusual form. One of them saluted him Thane of Angus, another Thane of Moray, and the third saluted him King. Troubled and incited in mind, he pondered over the vision, which showed him things improbable and unjust; but when occasion brought the prospect nearer, scruples were laid aside.

Duncan, when Prince of Cumberland, had married the daughter of Siward, king or thane of Northumberland. He had issue two sons, Malcolm, who was surnamed

Canmore,[1] having a large head, and Donald Bàn,[2] the fair. The king appointed his eldest son, as was the custom, Prince of Cumberland. Macbeth expected the honour, and took it ill, as his propinquity and great services should have merited, and, throwing aside the recent laws of succession, would entitle him to the throne. Notwithstanding the prediction of the weird-sisters, he saw himself excluded from the government, when the Prince of Cumberland was invested with the chief magistracy. His wife, fierce and imperious, knowing his thoughts, stimulated his spirit to any act that might minister to him, by fair or foul means, in obtaining the object of his highest ambition, which, if not so disappointed, he might be sure of obtaining in the course of time, by use and wont. He soon found an opportunity, and slew the king in the seventh year of his reign. Duncan, by one account, was assassinated at Bothgowan, near Elgin; according to another, at Glammis. Malcolm fled to England, and Donald retired into the Western Isles.

It has been said that Macbeth communicated his evil design to Banco, and others in whom he placed confidence. He collected a company, and proceeded to Scone, where, trusting to public favour, he declared himself king. Macbeth allowed the sons of the murdered king to escape, as he could not attend to all things at once. They could not trust to the clemency of the murderer of their parent, who was known to be cruel by nature, and whose interest, and no doubt desire, would be to have them immediately removed. The tyrant having obtained the object of his highest ambition, now lay snares, when too late, for seizing the apparent heirs of the crown. The eldest at first reached Cumberland, but fearing the attempts of the usurper of his throne by right of succession, he went to the king of England, with whom he passed some years. The other son got beyond the reach of Macbeth, to his countrymen and Irish, who, mingled with the Norwegians, then possessed the Hebrides. 1034.

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[1] Ceann, *head*, mor, *large*.

[2] Bàn, *fair*.

MACBETH.

Contemporary, Edward of England.

The usurper was by birth the thane of Ross, and by marriage, thane of Moray. That he might establish the kingdom, the throne of which he obtained by crime, on firm footing, he endeavoured to conciliate the more powerful to himself by great largesses. He reckoned himself safe from the royal children, on account of their age, and he maintained peace with his neighbours by dissimulation. He only wanted the favour of the people, which he studied to deserve. He resolved to punish robbers, whose spirits were raised above the equilibrium of the mild spirit of Duncan, and he succeeded without much trouble or commotion. From deep policy, he began to sow the seed of discord among the powerful and turbulent, whom he feared. He appointed a certain day in different and distant places, on which day, when many assembled, the obnoxious were seized, and terror pervaded the minds of the rest, lest the punishment expected to be executed should be visited on themselves. Besides the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn; some also of the more powerful, by whose intestine discords the people were harassed, he took away. He went to the Ebudæ, where he pronounced severe judgements. On his return, he inflicted capital punishment on Macgill, who was most powerful in Galloway, and who refused his summons to appear to answer for his injustice and crimes. He sent forces against him, who overcame him in battle, took him prisoner, and made him suffer. By these acts of severity, he restored tranquillity, that was often disturbed in the reign of Duncan. Himself the most guilty, he inflicted merited punishment on the guilty. Macbeth must be allowed the merit of governing the kingdom well during ten years. He was not inferior to any of his predecessors in maintaining order and distributing justice; but, as soon as he thought himself well fortified by guards and the favour of the people, and expected he was safe from foreign enemies and domestic violence, he began to exercise the most cruel tyranny. He made the first assault on Banco, his associate in royal bloodshed. It was reported that lots were cast by malicious persons, whether his posterity or Banco's should obtain the kingdom. It was feared a powerful man should start up and follow his own example in procuring the government to his offspring,—and who was so likely as Banco, active, irresolute, and already guilty? He invited him to supper; but, on his way, Banco was murdered by some who waylaid him, and had arisen as in a tumult. His son Fleance escaped the snare laid in the dark. Admonished by friends of his father, he sought his own safety by flight; disguised, he made his way to Wales. From Fleance descended the Stewarts, in whom the alleged prophecy was fulfilled. The cruel and perfidious slaughter of an old friend alarmed the nobles; each fearing for himself, left their homes, and seldom appeared in the palace. Distrust first rose between the king and nobles, and hatred ensued. The former then proceeded more openly. Slight causes gave high offence. Nobles were killed; the wealthy were spoiled of their effects; guards of guilty persons were about the king. Nor did Macbeth think himself safe with his bodyguard; he began to build a fort,—a stronghold that would defy the assault of enemies. It was being raised on the hill Dunsinane, which was of great extent and strength. When the work proceeded slowly, on account of the difficulty of carrying materials to it, he divided the labour among the thanes through the kingdom. They were to forward the undertaking in their turn; and he ordered them to be inspectors of the work, demanding of them workmen and beasts of burden. At that time, Macduff, thane of Fife, was the most powerful of them. He distrusted the king, but sent hither workmen and friends who would superintend them, and see the work forwarded. The king, whether with the intention of inspecting the work, or with the design of seizing the thane, as the latter suspected, was present, and seeing a yoke of oxen labouring under too heavy a load, in ascending the acclivity, Macbeth, as incited by the occasion, got into a rage, and threatened he would put the yoke on the owner's neck. This threat being repeated to Macduff, he delayed not a moment, left his wife and children, crossed over to the Lothians in a small boat, and escaped into England.

His intention to fly into England being made known to Macbeth, he instantly proceeded with a strong force to Fife, to seize the thane. He entered his castle, and not finding him, he poured out his rage on his wife and children. He confiscated his goods, proclaimed him traitor, denounced a heavy penalty on any who would dare to aid, receive, or accompany him. He cruelly treated the illustrious and wealthy without distinction. He dispised the nobles, and governed by domestic counsellors.

The Abbot of Dunkeld attempted in vain to drive him from the throne, and to establish the legitimate heir. Meantime, Macduff arrived in England, and found Malcolm entertained in state by king Edward. He urged and encouraged Malcolm to assert his right to the crown of Scotland. Edward had overcome the Danes, and being reconciled to Siward, Earl of Northumberland, who was maternal uncle to Malcolm, gave him 10,000 men, to aid in placing the lawful heir on the throne of his ancestors.

Macduff, in his first interview with Malcolm, made known to him the cause of his flight, and the miserable condition of all ranks, against whom Macbeth practised unspeakable cruelties, and the fear and hatred they entertained of him ; exhorted him in the most pressing manner to hasten to their relief, and recover his legal authority, and revenge the death of his father, and alleviate the miseries of his subjects ; assured him the people would rise in his favour, and that friends would not be wanting to support the good cause ; that all human and divine laws required it. Malcolm, who had been frequently solicited to return to Scotland, by persons who came privately from Macbeth to entice him by all manner of guile, resolved, before he should commit matters of highest importance to chance, to try Macduff, and prove him. He pretended to know nothing of the statement made to him, and feigned to doubt all ; but, however that might be, declared he would be can-did with him with regard to himself, and might, should he be placed on the throne of Scotland, prove worse than all he said of Macbeth, were it true; that when he confessed all, he would endeavour to prevent his return, or oppose his attempt to gain the throne. He said, had he the power, he might be the worst member of society, his ruling passions being lust and avarice; though his present circumstances made him conceal his real character, were he allowed to indulge his passions, he would be more deserving of the title of monster than of king. When Macduff heard the free confession made to him, "Begone," said he, "heir of royalty, dishonour to the name, prodigy of evil, fitter to bring disaster on the valiant nation, than to govern a free and loyal people!" With unfeigned sorrow and rage, he was departing from him, full of disappointment and horror, when Malcolm, taking him by the hand, explained to him the cause of dissembling, and told him the many snares which Macbeth laid for him, so that he could not rashly trust his best friends; but now he was fully convinced of the sincerity of the thane, being satisfied there was no fraud or deceit in him. They then pledged their mutual faith, and determined on the downfall of the tyrant.

Having premonished friends by secret messages, they took their departure. Siward commanded the army. There were great movements in Scotland, and a mighty concourse of people of all degrees, expected the coming of the lawful king. Macbeth was deserted; in the sudden defection, he saw no safer retreat than Dunsinane castle, where he might wait for assistance from the Hebrides and Ireland, whither he sent messengers, promising pay and booty. They who deserted Macbeth, joined the army of Malcolm. The people offered up prayers for him wherever he advanced, and followed him with their good wishes, which were omens of victory. The soldiers, as if already victorious, fixed green branches in their helmets, and, as they marched, the wood of Birnam, as prophesied or told by the witches, seemed to be moving to Dunsinane. The army marched to battle more like triumphant forces returning from fight. Macbeth, the bold and cruel, betook himself to flight; Macduff, pursuing, slew him.

Lulach, or the simple, Lady Macbeth's son, was acknowledged king by the lieges of Ross and Moray. Malcolm discovered his lurking place, pursued, and slew him in Strathbogie.

Macbeth reigned in all seventeen years; during the last seven, he equalled in cruelty the most savage tyrant. He and Lulach were buried in Iona, 1057.

MALCOLM III.

Contemporaries, Edward, and William the Conqueror.

Malcolm, eldest son of Duncan I., having recovered his paternal right, was proclaimed king, on the 25th day of April, 1057. He immediately summoned an assembly at Forfar. The first act of his reign was to restore the estates and effects to the children of those who were slain by Macbeth. The thane of Fife was denominated judge; and new titles and honours were conferred on all who deserved well of Scotland. The lawful king settled all matters at home in the most satisfactory way, and cultivated peace with England during the life of Edward.

All the Scots at this time spoke Gaelic, which was the language of the British and Celtæ. Malcolm, during his sojourn in England, acquired also the Saxon. All yet used the institutions of their ancestors.

Three special honours were granted to the posterity of Macduff; first, that they should place the crown on the king's head ; second, that they should command the first wing in the king's army ; and third, for an unpremeditated death, they should pay twenty-four merks for a nobleman, and twelve for a commoner. This last privilege was continued as long as any of the family existed. It was during these transactions that Lulach's adherents crowned him at Scone. He only reigned over them three months.

Scotland was tranquil during the space of four years. While the King of England lived, there was amity between the monarchs.

It being reported that a powerful band of robbers had settled in the forest of Cockburn, and infested Lothian and March, plundering and killing all who resisted them, Patrick of Dunbar assailed and routed them, after infinite labour and a loss of twenty-four men ; six hundred of the robbers perished. For his successful efforts he was knighted. The kingdom being safe and at peace, a private conspiracy against the king was discovered. Calling the leader before him, who suspected not that anything was revealed, in a long conversation, in a familiar manner, the king contrived to lead him to a secret place, where he reproached him for laying snares for his life, after all the benefits he had conferred on him ; adding, it was more valiant to attempt his life openly ; and, as they were both armed, and a convenient time and place afforded, now he had an opportunity of obtaining, by valour, what he was seeking by secret guile. The conspirator was struck dumb at the sudden unexpected turn of conversation, fell at the king's feet, implored his mercy, and obtained pardon.[1]

Harold, the last prince of the Saxon line, succeeded Edward the Confessor to the throne of England, but he was opposed by his brother Tostig ; who, aided by a body of Northumbrians, invaded the kingdom. The intruder was repulsed and fled to Scotland, where he obtained an asylum. But, in a second attempt upon England, he and his confederate, Harold, king of Norway, were slain at the battle of Stowbridge.

The alliance of Scotland and England was suspended by William the Conqueror, A.D. 1066. Edgar Atheling, his mother, and two sisters, he being the last of the male descendants of the great Alfred, mistrusting the specious friendship of the conqueror, resolved on seeking an asylum from danger, with his mother's kindred in Germany, which they could not expect in England. Their father, Edward Atheling, known in history by the surname of "Outlaw," had married Agatha, daughter of the Emperor Henry II. The party being Edgar, his widowed mother, and two sisters, Margaret and Christina ; the vessel in which they sailed was driven, by stress of weather, into the Firth of Forth. They sought the protection of Malcolm. The youthful monarch was so much struck with the beauty of Margaret, the eldest daughter, that he, after the exiles had been a short time in the country, proposed marriage, and received her hand.

The consequences of this connexion were remarkable among the Scots. Malcolm was attached to the Saxons by birth and early education; by gratitude, for the favour conferred on him in exile, and the assistance he received to recover his paternal kingdom; and now, by his marriage with Margaret, a princess of the royal blood of England, which happened about the year 1068. From this time the Saxon nobles, expelled by William, Duke of Normandy, who had conquered that kingdom in 1066, found a friendly retreat in the North. They received from his majesty large grants of land; their language, being that of the queen, and understood by Malcolm, became the language of the court, and gradually superseded the Gaelic in the Lowlands of Scotland, when the court was removed from the Highlands. The removal of the seat of government from the North, made a distinction in the language and manners of the Scots. They were, henceforth, denominated Highlanders and Lowlanders, though they still continued the same nation, and were under the same government. Dunfermline, on the north side of the Firth of Forth, sixteen miles north-west of Edinburgh, was Malcolm's favourite residence, but the queen preferred Dunedin,[2] and resided chiefly there in the absence of the king. The stronghold of Edinburgh castle was a more suitable residence amidst the troubles of a warlike age. There, then, the court was fixed, when the monarch was on his warlike expeditions.

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[1] Matthew Paris.

The inhabitants of the Highlands of the country ceased to be the predominant people. They were, in fact, neglected, when the king and his armies were engaged in the South. We have related the frequent descents of the Scandinavians, and their devastations on the western coasts of Europe. The Scots were, in general, victorious in England as well as in Scotland, repelling and overcoming them while they were one people; but now, the Highlanders frequently, in the absence of the court, and especially the king in his southern expeditions, were left to their own resources; exposed more than the other half of the nations to the invasions of the Vikingers. Under these circumstances, the clans or families aided and assisted each other as best they could, and they formed a system of defence, the most effective for the time. All of the same name and blood elected the bravest and most powerful among them to be their chief. He was their patriarch in peace, and their general in war. He protected, guided, and ruled them; and they all were to him as the family of a common parent. Each chief, united by paction, called out their families or clans respectively, on any emergency, to resist a foe or ward off calamity. They were bound to aid and assist, as if all clans were under one commander. Their interest was common. In a hilly country, where the inhabitants were spread over extensive regions, there was difficulty in gathering them. The Northmen adventurers, or sea-kings, appeared on a sudden; landed on the most convenient coast; spoiled the land, and retreated into their ships, or took possession, ere the clans could come thither. The Gael must have had a quicker mode of communication than sending messengers to every chief. The *crann-tara*[3] was adopted.

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[2] Edinburgh.

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[3] Crann-tara, *gathering tree*; a branch on fire, waved in the air. The bearer ran from hill-top to hill-top; then another took it; then a third; thus continuing through the breadth of the land. The call was answered; all being armed hasted hither, till they reached the place where the fiery cross was raised, having reversed the course.

Much time was lost, notwithstanding the greatest expedition, all which was in favour of the invaders to carry off the plunder, or take possession of the land. The loss of effects was a calamity that could be endured, but their homes they must have; and the chiefs, with their followers, united as one man, until they overcame the Lochlins, and restored his possession to the sufferer. Clanship, adopted from necessity, was thus the most effectual mode they could then have thought of. It not only endeared the chief and his followers to each other, but likewise united the chiefs together in bands of amity and gratitude. The whole country was divided into districts, each known by the respective clan that inhabited or possessed it. No one could say on which of these the enemy would seize; it was the interest of all to combine their strength, and expell him. He might have gained the first battle, but the Highlanders finally prevailed.

The continuation of this system from the middle of the eleventh century, to the middle of the eighteenth, about seven hundred years, says more for it than a page would contain in its praise. It might have its defects and faults,—nothing human is perfect,—but it contributed much to the peace and comfort of the people of the Highlands of Scotland. A chief was not only a father among his people, he was their ruler and judge; all of the blood were loyal and faithful to him; and he was kind and familiar. His district or domain was large, and they lived on the production of the soil: served him in peace and war. But their service differed from that of the serfs,—it was voluntary. Feudalism was a system of coercion; clanship, of good-will. The one proved a blessing, in which the ties of kindred and affection were indissoluable; the other, a hardship that had been always a heavy load, that must have been borne to the end of a weary journey.

William, having conquered the kingdom of England, sent heralds to Malcolm, to say, unless he dismissed Edgar from his realm, he would proclaim war against him. To surrender an exile driven on his coast by stress of weather, and dismiss a guest to wander in hostile lands, would be cruel or timid in a monarch; but, from their connexion, and while there was no fault alleged against him, it would be indicative of all want of feeling. Malcolm Canmore not only protected Edgar, but received his exiled friends too, to whom he gave a home and possessions. It was no small courage to set the conqueror at defiance; but Malcolm Canmore did it, and some of the exiles' posterity became great and opulent families in Scotland.

War, as might have been expected, was proclaimed. Siward, Earl of Northumberland joined his forces to Malcolm's. The Norman, elated with prosperity, considered Scotland as already subdued. He sent Roger, a nobleman of his own nation, with forces to Northumberland. He was overcame and slain. Richard of Gloucester, knight, was again sent with greater forces. He was harassed in skirmishes by Patrick of Dunbar, and prevented from plundering to any great extent; so he effected nothing. Odo, brother of William, from being bishop of Bayonne in France, was made Earl of Kent; he was sent North with still greater forces, and having slain all that opposed him, Malcolm and Siward marched against him, when returning with great booty; stripped him of his spoil, and slew numbers of his men. Then Robert, William's eldest son, was sent with a supplemental army, yet had done little more than pitched his camp on the bank of the river Tyne, and kept off, doing nothing, till the new camp fell with the old. William, tired of a war that cost him so much in time and men, was inclined to make peace with the Scots, which was concluded on these terms: that a stone cross should be erected at Stanemuir, as the boundary between the two kingdoms. It was adorned with the statues and ensigns of the two kings, and, as long as it stood, it had the appellation of "The Kings' Cross." Malcolm held Cumberland by the ancient agreement. Edgar was received into favour by William, who granted him ample estates, that raised him above want, and rendered him beyond the desire of innovation; he usually resided in his palace. Voldiosus, son of Siward, receiving his father's immense portion, was raised to royal affinity, by his marrying a niece of the king.

Intestine troubles succeeded foreign wars, so happily concluded. The Gallowegians and Islanders depopulated all adjacent places, and shed much blood. The men of Moray, of Ross, Caithness, and others conspired, and the forces nearest to these incited strife in masses.

Walter, grandson of Banco, and son of Fleance, who escaped from Macbeth, having gained the favour of the king by his acts of bravery, was sent against the Gallowegians. Macduff was sent against other rebels, and the greatest number were compelled to yield. So successful was Walter in slaying the leader and calming the tumult, that, after managing things so well, on his return the king made him Steward of all Scotland. This officer collected all the royal revenues, and had a jurisdiction over the counties, the same as thanes had formerly; but, when an English exile obtained the district of a thane, he was called Steward. Hence the royal family of the Stuart name.

Macduff, in a different quarter, arrived on the confines of Marr. The inhabitants offered him money, not to enter their territories. He feared the number of the enemy, and suspended hostilities, under semblance of treating and proposing conditions, until the king himself arrived with greater forces, and joined his camp at the town of Monimusk. The king, hearing of the multitude of people in arms, and anxious as to the result, vowed to the bishop of St Andrew, whom the Scots worshipped as the tutelar Saint, the town in which he pitched his camp, were he to return victorious from the expedition. A few days march brought him to Spey, the most rapid river in Scotland. He believed the number of the insurgents to be as large as could be gathered in those regions. He saw them on the opposite bank, ready to oppose the passage. He, observing the standard-bearer hesitating to enter the rapid river, took the ensign from him, and gave it to Alexander, a knight of Carron, a man of great fortitude, whose posterity long held the honour. An end was put to the war without bloodshed. The nobles surrendered, on condition of their lives being respected. The leaders who were the most active or guilty, were committed to perpetual confinement. Their effects were confiscated. Thus, peace being restored at home and abroad, Malcolm gave his time and attention to the good management of domestic affairs.

Another change followed that of clanship, in consiquence of the removal of the court to the Low Country: the Scots being now distinguished into Highlanders and Lowlanders. Though the language of the queen, mixed with foreign speech, was used at court, the Gaelic was still the language of the people, though undergoing a gradual change. The manners, too, were being changed. Malcolm, having acquired her language while in England, was interpreter between the queen and his subjects. He was much under the influence of Margaret, who was said to have entered more into his council than was usual with queens; and it was supposed, and believed, that much was done by her in forming the manners, and changing the religion of the people under her inspection. The first thing the queen did was to invite Turgot, a Saxon monk, prior of Durham, to the court. She made him her confessor. He assisted her in reforming the rude manners of the nation, and educating her young children, who were brought up under her own superintendence. Her sister, Christina, devoted herself wholly to a religious life, and she became Abbess of Ramsey. The Romish religion began now to make rapid progress in Scotland. Though the pope obtained the supremacy in the eighth century, the Scots were always attached to the ancient British clergy, the Culdees; but they, being on the decline since deprived of their places of worship, their seats of learning, and possession of land on which they maintained themselves by manual labour, their numbers and influence were gradually giving way, while the new religion was encouraged, and gaining ground.

Margaret was the third queen in the island who gave her aid in extending the authority of Mother Church. She, the abbess, and the father confessor, were powerful agents in the hands of a grasping clergy; and the effects of their efforts were neither small nor unseen; yet the ancient British clergy were zealous in the performance of their duty; and long possessed the affections of the people. The Culdees were learned and pious, nor was their character less obvious, from their simplicity of manners and integrity. The new clergy, whose benefices were large, assumed a sumptuous magnificence, that produced no small result on the people in general. It is curious to observe the changes that were rapidly taking place, in spiritual as well as temporal matters. These changes appeared more conspicuous after Turgot the priest conducted the services of the Church in Latin, though they were evident ever since the queen took the management of domestic affairs. Henceforth the Saxon and the Gael appeared at the celebration of mass in an unknown tongue. The change in religion was not so obvious, nor introduced so soon, in the Highlands, still the influence of the Church that assumes the appellation of Catholic, was spreading over the kingdom.

Saxons, Danes, and French might have been found in the north of the island; their languages entered as ingredients into the Celtic in this part of the British isles, and in course of time there was a new language; not a corruption of the Saxon, as some have averred, but a compound, called Scotch,—the original being the principal part. But what contributed more to the compounding of tongues in the Lowlands of Scotland, was the captives that Malcolm carried from the South, and spread through the country; and there was not a family where one or more were to be found; then Gaelic and English were talked promiscuously. Between this period and the Reformation, the change of language and religion obtained chiefly in the Lowlands of Scotland. The first, in the Highlands, has been always the same; and, in the latter, the progress was slow. It is rather curious that the supremacy of the pope was longest of being influential in the Highlands and Islands, and also longest in maintaining the superiority. But this will admit of explanation, by considering the localities, and the political state of these parts in after times.

Malcolm Canmore was a man of superior talents; he made an excellent husband, yet he was not always prepared to yield to his spouse and her relatives in religious matters. The abbess would have taken his eldest daughter, the princess, into the cloister, and it required all his firmness to defeat the project. Although he could neither read nor write, a circumstance not uncommon with monarchs of those times, he possessed natural endowments, and acquired early experience. Margaret was mainly guided by Turgot, her confessor, whose chief aim was to bring all within the pale of his own Church. Accordingly, provincial councils were held, in which the influence of the queen was apparent. Malcolm, being in England so long in his younger days, must have forgot much of the teaching of the Culdees, and must have imbibed dogmas of a more specious Church, or might not have attended to the difference; having spent the most of his time in military affairs, the innovations in religion escaped his notice. The revolutions in the south of the island occasioned alterations in customs and manners. Some of his successors, too, who spent part of their early life in England, admired those innovations, and introduced them into Scotland.

It was at the earnest desire of the queen and her friends that the king built priories and monasteries, and established pious and learned men, as bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Whitehaven, Mortclach, Moray, and Caithness. The king attempted, almost in vain, to coerce the luxury, introduced by the many English who were settling in the kingdom, from spreading and increasing; and it was no small trouble to recall the nobles to the state of their ancestors.

The pious queen was desirous of doing what she considered would civilize the nation, by assimilating them to the English, who were supposed to be in advance of the Scots in many things. Malcolm was not unmindful of good morals, or religion, while he found it necessary to give much of his attention to military affairs. He first resolved to purge his own family, then he carried the laws against transgressors by severe penalties; but he sometimes rather stopped the progress than carried the people in the way that seemed strange to them; yet he never ceased to take such measures as appeared best to reform all.

Meantime, William, King of England, died in 1087. His son, William Rufus, succeeded him. He and Malcolm Canmore, differing so much in disposition, it was more than probable they would not long be at peace. While the king of the Scots was building chapels at great expense, in many places the King of England was destroying monasteries and towns, to enlarge the royal forests. He had driven Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Island, for admonishing him with too much freedom, as he fancied. He seized Alnwick castle, and slew the governor. In vain did Malcolm sue for redress; he then marched with a great army, and besieged the castle. The keepers of the fort, almost reduced to want, consulted, and offered to surrender. While off his guard, waiting to receive the keys, he was treacherously killed. Edward, his son, rushed forward to avenge the death of his sire,—drawing his weapon, and taking no precaution, was also slain.

The Scots, by this double calamity, the loss of both father and son, were confounded. They raised the siege, and returned home. Margaret, worn with care and grief, survived not long her husband and son. The bodies of the king and queen were carried from Tynemouth to Dunfermline, where their remains were interred.

Malcolm Canmore governed Scotland thirty-six years. Though illiterate, he distinguished himself by many great qualities. He was renowned as a prince of great ability and energy. He maintained the independence of his kingdom against William the Conqueror and his son Rufus; and, during the period of twenty-seven years, supported the contest with forces far inferior to his opponents.

Malcolm Canmore was great as a monarch; nor less was he as a man, in all conditions. He possessed natural affections and domestic virtue, in a high degree. He was a fond husband and an affectionate parent; a ruler, under whose sway his subjects had no cause to complain.

The death of Malcolm III. appears to have been the signal for the last great effort made by the Gaelic Scots to revive the ancient rule of succession, or the law of tanistry. Donal Bàn, (the *Fair*,) brother of the late monarch, was called to the throne, to the exclusion of the surviving sons of Malcolm, who had, by Margaret, six sons; the eldest died, as mentioned, of his wounds at Alnwick. Edward and Ethelred died in exile, driven from the kingdom by their uncle Donal. The remaining three, Edgar, Alexander, and David, governed the kingdom in succession. Of the two daughters, Matilda the eldest, surnamed Bona, was married to Henry, King of England; Maria the youngest, to Eustacius, Earl of Boulogne.

Among the prodigies of this reign is mentioned an inundation of the German sea, so unsual, that it submerged lands,—covered them with mud and sand, and threw down villages, towns, and castles. Thunder storms were also more frequent and more awful than were ever remembered in Britain. Many were killed by lightning. Since the time of Kenneth the First, who reigned over the Scots from the Shetland and Orkney Isles to the Wall of Adrian, Malcolm Canmore might be reckoned the greatest monarch. Being so long in England, and married to an English princess, he appeared with a state and retinue till then unknown in the North. The queen introduced a degree of politeness into her court that was remarkable for the age; but she survived the innovations she attempted on the primitive church. She was, according to her earliest biographers, regarded as a model of piety during her life, and the Romish Church confirmed her canonization by a bull of Pope Innocent IV., which permitted her to rank among the saints of the Kalendar. St Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle, testifies the veneration in which her zeal for the Mother Church was held.

Though Margaret failed in effecting an entire change in the religion of her husband, she instilled the Romish tenets into her children. Her domestic training was conspicuous in the government of her sons.

Malcolm died, A.D. 1093.

DONAL BAN.

The sons of the late king being all in minority, the ancient Scots looked for a person who would lead them in war, as well as rule over them in peace. Donal Bàn, the second son of the murdered Duncan, lived among the Hebrideans, and was scarcely mentioned during his elder brother's reign. By the law of tanistry, however, he could claim a right to the throne. Now was his time to make his appearance ; and the people received him as king. The Western Isles were in the possession of the Norwegians, the king of Norway being supreme lord over the many petty kings, or chiefs there. But before the Norman sway, there were Gael and Irish in the Western Isles, especially in those of the South ; among them Donal passed his time, during Macbeth's usurpation and Malcolm's reign. He now ascended the throne. Margaret had the address of carrying away her children, and placing them in safety. Duncan, illegitimate son of Malcolm, was in the service of Rufus when this happened. He, having the permission of the King of England, invaded Scotland, and expelled Donal Bàn. No sooner had he assumed the reins of government, than his brother Edmund and the fugitive Donal formed a conspiracy against him. At their instigation, as supposed, Machender, Earl of Mearns, assassinated Duncan. Magnus, the king of Norway, sent forces to Donal, and he re-ascended the throne.

All good men, who held the memory of Malcolm and Margaret in the highest respect, despised him. He increased that hatred by rashness ; throwing out threats against the lives of nobles, who repented they had sworn allegiance to him. William Rufus, gave the command of an army to Edgar Atheling, who marched into Scotland, and placed Edgar his nephew on the throne. Donal Bàn was taken, and, after the barbarous manner of the age, deprived of his sight. Edmund was condemned to perpetual banishment. Donal died soon, after reigning one year. Duncan reigned two.

EDGAR.

Contemporary, Henry Beauclerc of England.

During Donal's second reign there was great confusion. How things were mismanaged in Scotland, was not unknown in England. It was understood there, that the Scots would receive Edgar with open arms: at his appearance, his followers had forsaken the unfortunate Donal. So the young king ascended the throne with the good-will of all ranks. The first act of his administration was to make peace with England, which was maintained during his reign. The amiable relationship between the two kingdoms was strengthened by the marriage of Matilda, Edgar's elder sister, and Henry Beauclerc,—the first King of England of the name. Her surname was Bona, (the *Good.*) From this marriage were issue, William, Richard, and Euphemia. Edgar reigned nine years, beloved and venerated by the good, and a terror to the bad. During his happy reign, there was no trouble in the country. His two nephews, William and Richard were drowned on their passage from Normandy. Matilda, or Maude, married the Emperor Henry IV.; but had no children. She again married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou, in France. Their offspring was Henry II. of England, 1107.

ALEXANDER I.

Contemporary, Henry of England.

Edgar dying without issue, Alexander his brother succeeded him; he was surnamed Acer, (the *Sharp.*) David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, was put in possession of Cumberland, in accordance with the testamentary deed of his father. The young and idle looked with impatience to the government of Alexander, expecting him to be indulgent, and to wink at what the stringent laws of some of his predecessors would make penal, as they would rather live by plunder than honest industry. Finding their mistake, and that he justly acquired the cognomen of the *Sharp*, they were determined to carry him off by secret fraud. The conspiracy being discovered, he pursued the conspirators to Ross-shire. Coming to the river Spey, which was thought impassable,—the rapid stream being swollen by a flood, and falling into the sea as the tumultuous waves of the ocean,—Acer, putting spurs to his horse, plunged into it; it was in vain to endeavour to prevent him. His army, ashamed to remain behind, all followed, and marched against the rebels. He gave part of his army to Alexander, son of Alexander of Carron, who, on a former occasion, had shown his courage in plunging with the standard given him by Malcolm Canmore, into the rapid river Spey. The boldness of the king terrified the hostile mass that were on the opposite bank, defying the king and his forces, so much that they fled in great consternation. They were quickly pursued, and, many being slain, their chiefs were taken, brought to the king, and hung. This expedition procured for Alexander quietness all his life.

A poor woman met him as he returned through the Mearns, grievously complaining that her husband lay in thongs.[1] as he could not pay a debt he was owing, and that this cruel treatment was at the instance of the son of the Earl of the Mearns. The king leaped off his horse, indignant at the conduct of the oppressor, seized him, and had him punished before he again mounted.

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[1] Chains of leather.

The king returned through the Carse of Gowry, or Baile-Edgar, (*the town of Edgar,*) as some write, where a tragical incident happened.[2] His body-servant, being bribed by robbers, introduced them into the chamber of the king; Alexander wakened at the instant, and first killed the servant; then a fierce struggle ensued, and six of the robbers fell at his feet in the contest.

Alexander was called to the North, to quell an insurrection excited by Angus, grandson of Lulach, who claimed the crown. Tranquillity being restored on the submission of Angus, the king returned in peace, and directed all his attention to the welfare of his subjects. Being educated in the Romish religion, he promoted the interest of Mother Church in various parts of the realm. He raised the fane of Michael, changed the college there into an abbey of monks, aud founded the monastery of Inch Colme. It was owing to an extreme danger into which he fell, while he and his followers had to live on the little the recluse worshippers or hermits could give them, that, out of gratitude, he built a place of worship, and settled lands on the canons, that they might live in better condition. He finished the temple begun by his father at Dunfermline, and enriched it by revenues.

Alexander I. was married to Sibylla, daughter of William the Norman; they had no issue. He reigned seventeen years, and died A.D. 1124.

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[2] Buchanan.

DAVID.

Contemporary, Henry, and Stephen, of England.

David, youngest son of Malcolm Canmore, succeeded his brother Alexander, in they ear 1124. His reign forms an epoch in the history and jurisprudence of Scotland. Residing with his sister in England, and attending the court, he acquired a knowledge of the laws of the kingdom, and experience in the art of government. He married the widow of the Earl of Northampton, daughter of Voldiosus, son and heir of Siward, maternal uncle of Malcolm Canmore. Her mother, Juditha, was niece of William the Norman. He was a prince of superior character to the Norman sovereigns who lived in the same age. In their son Henry, appeared the disposition of both parents in early youth. By his marriage he became Earl of Northumberland and of Huntingdon. David was congratulated on his accession to the throne by all citizens. Though the memory of parents be of great might to conciliate popular favour, David had effected more by his own virtues. He wanted no foreign praise to commend him. He not only equalled other kings in governing, but far surpassed them in hearing small cases. He heard complaints, and rescinded false judgments; compelling the judge to pay the expense of the lawsuit to the loser. He coerced the leniency of former reigns, and he ejected from the kingdom the inventors and abettors of allurements to pleasures and effeminacy. He surpassed the beneficence of his parents and relatives by endowments to the clergy, and he repaired the monasteries fallen or decayed through age, or dilapidated by the injuries of war, besides erecting new ones. The Church of Rome having gained the ascendency in Scotland, David added more to sacred buildings than all preceding monarchs. The most celebrated abbeys were erected in his time. He added four bishops to the six in the kingdom, and bestowed such endowments on the Church, that he reduced future kings almost to want, the greatest part of royal lands being consecrated to the aliment of monks. John Major enlarges on the profusion lavished on monks and priests; but the pious Bernard more justly blames the endowments, that rendered the pampered unfit to study or to perform any duties. They were soon sunk in vices and immoralities that they should have suppressed.

Angus, Earl of Moray, again attempted to overturn the government in 1130. In suppressing this insurrection, David was assisted by Walter L'Espie. The insurgents were defeated in Forfarshire. Angus, Earl of Moray, and a great number of his followers, were slain.

Malcolm Macbeth attempted to kindle a new sedition, but was taken and confined in Roxburgh castle. But greater troubles and calamities succeeded; the loss of his wife, and the premature death of his daughter. The monarch was bereaved of Matilda, highest in rank and beauty, whom he loved, and loved alone. She died in the flower of her age. He neither sought nor desired another consort, and he lived single more than twenty years; his chief aim and ardent wish being now to discharge the duties of a sovereign, both in peace and war.

The King of England engaged the King of Scotland, the nobility, and clergy, with Stephen, Earl of Boulogne and Bretagne, to guarantee his settlement of the crown to his daughter Matilda, in defect of having male issue. By this engagement were involved protracted negotiations, which eventually entailed war on both nations.

On the death of Henry of England, Stephen, notwithstanding his solemn engagement to support the claim of Matilda, seized the throne. The King of Scots invaded England. The hostile monarch entered into an insincere treaty; but the war was soon rekindled with great animosity, and raged for two years. The Battle of the Standard was fought in 1138, on Cultermuir, near Strathallerton. The English formed a compact body, with the standard in the centre. The Scots were ranged in three divisions. Their infantry were badly armed; their swords were brittle, and their only implement of defence was a target of leather. The Bishop of Orkney exhorted the Scots to battle; promising them victory, and absolving those that might fall in the cause of their country. The venerable Walter L'Espie ascended the carriage to which the standard was fixed, and harangued the multitude. The shock was bloody, and the battle was hot during two hours. Symptoms of general disorder began to appear, when the Prince of Scotland attacked and dispersed the troops that guarded the rear. The Gallowaymen rallied, when an English soldier, cutting off the head of one of the slain, raised it, and cried, "The head of the king of the Scots!" Consternation spread through the Scottish army; and the nobles compelled the king to retreat. After their defeat, the Scots, dissatisfied with their conduct, began to turn their arms against each other. The king interposed his authority, and, to give them employment, led them to the siege of Wark, when a treaty of peace was negociated, by the papal legate, between the hostile kings.

David ratified the peace concluded at Durham in 1139. The Prince of Scotland was gratified with the earldom of Northumberland, on condition that he should do homage as an English baron. The authority of Stephen was at this time established, but he alienated the affections of the clergy, and re-involved the kingdom in war.

Matilda being seated on the throne, invited her uncle, the King of the Scots, to her court, but the English deposed her, and obliged her to fly, accompanied by her royal kinsman. Matilda was the only one of Henry's family who survived ; his two sons, as already mentioned, being drowned on the passage from France. It was said that the English king was never more seen to smile. Matilda had married Henry the Fourth. They had no family. After her husband's death she returned to England. It was then that her sire would confirm her in the government of England, and, in hopes of having grandchildren, gave her in marriage to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou. In the space of five years, Robert, Duke of Normandy, and King Henry died ; and Henry of Anjou, seized with a grievous disease, was bed-rid.

Meantime, Stephen, Earl of Boulogne by his descent of the royal race, conceived he had the best right to govern the kingdom of England. He was descended from the daughter of William the Norman, who had espoused the Earl of Blois ; he had married Matilda, daughter of the former Earl of Boulogne ; but the cousin of the empress Matilda was born of Mary, sister of the King of Scots. Then, from all these relatives, and the absence of the Queen of the English, and illness of Geoffrey, he expected his access to the throne would be easy. He entirely disregarded the faith of an oath to maintain with others the settlement of the kingdom, made by the late king. He swayed over the English bishops from their oaths, by great promises, even the bishop of Salisbury, who dictated the words to the nobles. In confidence of all these, he entered the kingdom, his uncle Henry not yet buried; and possessed it two years in tranquillity. This made him more insolent, in disregarding the paction he made with the English, and acting arrogantly to his neighbours.

After treating the English bishops and nobles not according to expectation and agreement, he sent ambassadors to David, King of Scots to require his homage for Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon. David's answer was, that he made oath along with Stephen, and all the nobles of England, to Matilda, the legitimate queen; that while she lived, he could not acknowledge any other sovereign. His answer being reported to Stephen, war was immediately commenced. The English began to lay waste the nearest land of the Scots with fire and sword. The Scots did the same to the English; losses were sustained and inflicted with like disaster. In the first year, under the guidance of the Earl of March and Tay, the Scottish army were led to Lower Allerton, opposite to the forces of the English. The Earl of Gloucester commanded these. The armies met and fiercely fought. The English being routed, great numbers perished in the flight; among them was Gloucester. Stephen, struck with this blow, readily agreed to terms of peace, fearing the relatives of the captives should be alienated. These terms were, That the captives should be relieved without money; and all rights claimed for Cumberland should be annulled. But Stephen observed the conditions of peace with as little faith as the oath he had taken to Matilda. For scarcely were the armies dismissed, than he seized some forts of Northumberland, and renewed the war, by driving away cattle from the lands of the Scots; who collected forces in haste, and, despising the enemy so recently vanquished, rashly engaged them at the river Tees. The English avenged themselves on their late conquerors by making great slaughter. To wash away this ignominy, David came to Roxburgh with all the forces he could collect. Turstin, Bishop of York, was sent hither to make peace. With hope of longer concord, a truce of three months was made, and that Northumberland should be restored to the Scots. The promise made by Stephen to disband his army was not fulfilled; so David drove great booty away from that part of Northumberland that submitted to the English king. Stephen penetrated, with all his forces, to Roxburgh, but as soon as he was made sensible of the hostility incited against him, and the complaints made of the unjust war, he betook himself to the innermost part of the kingdom. Next year, fearing his own life was not safe from intestine sedition, he sent his wife, Matilda, to David, her uncle, to treat for peace. It was agreed that David, from Newcastle, and Stephen from Durham, should send persons to Chester, a town half way between them, to discuss the controversy. The bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow were sent by David, and those of Canterbury and York by Stephen. They more readily agreed, as Stephen feared war abroad, and sedition at home. The Scots ill brooked to be burdened with a foreign war, in which they had no interest. Matilda, meantime, was free of it, though she was the cause of the quarrel. Peace was therefore concluded on these terms: That Cumberland should be yielded to David, as ancient right; and Huntingdon to Henry, son of David, in name of maternal heritage, and that he should confess himself to Stephen for it, in name of benefice. Things being thus settled, David retired to Cumberland, and Stephen to Kent.

Peace was concluded in 1139, and Matilda returned to England, and sent her son to Charles, his grand-uncle, who was acknowledged to be the most powerful sovereign of the age, to be knighted; which was in those times observed with great ceremony. This Henry afterwards reigned in England. Same time there was great trouble of domestic discord and intestine war in England, excepting that part possessed by David, King of Scots. But upon him also fell calamity. His son, of great hope, died in the flower of his youth, leaving three sons, and as many daughters. He left not his like in either kingdom. All lamented him, as the greatest loss that could have happened; his sincerity of mind and moderation being rare in that age. The tender years of his son made his death more grievous to the king, as the restless disposition of Stephen, and his avidity of ruling the empire, removed all expectations of lasting peace. At last Stephen was also removed; yet the elated mind of Henry, who succeeded, gave but small hope of concord in that warlike age. Overwhelmed with so much trouble and affliction, the fortitude with which he bore his severe calamity, manifested the great mind of David. He invited his nobles to supper, and spoke in a manner more to condole them than to expect their sympathy and condolence. From all he understood, he said, from learned and pious men, he saw they were all ruled by Divine Providence ; that it was not only folly, but wickedness, to arraign the will of God, who made all things for His own glory, and that all rational beings ought to submit to His decrees with resignation ; that he knew his son was confirmed in the same belief, and desired to act justly. The debts he contracted in youth he discharged when dying, so that, after his demise, nothing but good report was heard of him. The death of the bad is only grievous to relatives, but the memory of the good is not a subject of lamentation, but of comfort. The good king said more to the same effect, worthy of commendation, and of being remembered and imitated; putting some in mind of the manner in which they ought to bear their bereavements, and how all ought to endure with Christian fortitude, as the address of the monarch admonished.

The magnanimity of the good king, his good sense and resignation to the will of the Disposer of events, made his noble friends venerate and admire him, growing hoary in the execution of his high duties.

The greatest concern of the king now, was to educate his grandchildren in the discipline of the court, and, by his best counsels, to provide for their security. He commended Malcolm, the eldest of the three, to the nobles, and more especially to Macduff, the Earl of Fife, a powerful man, who was appointed to attend the prince on a tour through the kingdom, that he might be introduced to his subjects as his successor. He declared William the Earl of Northumberland, and put him in possession ; the third grandson, David, he named the Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch in Inverness-shire. He hastened the settlement of these matters ; being afflicted with a grievous disease, he was sensible his end was near. He died in July 1153, being beloved by all his subjects, who seemed bereaved, not only of a good king, but also of a common parent. His whole life was such as we seldom meet in history. During his last year, he studied solely and most seriously the departure of his immortal soul. He was not excelled by former kings in the art of war and cultivation of peace. In war he appeared ready when necessity and honour made him unsheath the sword; in peace the good of society was his chief study. Having laid aside strife with others, he subdued the passions of pride and vanity in himself. The learned have not depicted a character of more real excellence than David, King of Scotland. During his reign he established many towns, and promoted agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and instituted municipal laws, known by the name of *Leges Burgorum.* He expired in the seventieth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his government, A.D. 1153.

THE LOCHLINS IN THE WEST HIGHLANDS.

Frequent mention has been made of the Danes in the history of the Kings of Scotland. Though no notice has been taken of the invasions of the Lochlins, or Scandinavians, on the Highlands, since the removal of the court by Canmore from the Highlands, as has been already mentioned, the inhabitants of the north and west coasts were, in a great measure, left to their own resources. They often suffered, but finally prevailed. The stories of the Lochlins were the household words of the families in the Highlands, the themes of the bards, and the subjects of the shenachies.[1] From the latter we take the following account of an invasion of the Lochlins on the west coast of Scotland, in the twelfth century. It is given in detail, as a specimen of the many invasions not narrated by historians of kings, but well known in the recital of bards and shenachies, which, if collected in time, would have filled volumes.

The narrative will not be impertinently placed here, as the commander of the clans appears a conspicuous character in the beginning of the reign of Malcolm the Fourth.

Like the kings of Scotland, the Highland chiefs never suffered the invaders of the North to take long possession of their domains. Olaus, son of the king of Lochlin,[2] surnamed the "Swarthy" from his dark complexion, made a descent on the West Highlands of Scotland, in the twelfth century, with followers innumerable, and landed his men ere the clans could gather to oppose or prevent him. A battle ensued, when numbers prevailed. The chiefs fought to the last. The clan *Aonais Macinnis*, were the first who lost their chief. A young man who was a volunteer, tall in stature, and magnanimous in fight, was adopted by them. His name was Summerled.[3] After the mighty men fell, and the followers fled, he was seen withdrawing the clan in good order, after performing extraordinary feats.

Olaus, having gained a complete victory, determined to settle in the country; he built a tower on the coast, and, allowing his followers to lay waste and plunder all places,—they roamed abroad. The natives who survived the bloody engagement, and such as met them coming from a distance, concealed themselves in the woods, and among the barren rocks. Their houses were burnt; their cattle, as many as could be found, were carried off. Any who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the cruel foes, whether they concealed their effects, or had nothing, suffered. There was no respect shown to age or sex.

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[1] Genealogists and historians.
[2] Anla Ruadh Mac Righ Lochlain.
[3] Somharle-mor Macghillebride.

The unbounded license given to the strangers, was what they regarded as their right, and what was probably promised to them by the adventurer. Olaus could not restrain them: nor was it his interest to spare the natives, whom he despised; and it was wonderful that any could live, as they were chased and run down like wild beasts. But weak as they were after their great losses, they made the Northmen suffer in their turn. They were acquainted in a country covered with wood, and full of marshes and stagnant pools. They were hardy and inured to toil and trouble; could easily make a shade of trees and branches, and live in caves. The rocks were their forts. Their herds and flocks were grazed in corries and glens. The deer of the mountains, the roe of the forests, the feathery tribe, the salmon of the streams, supplied their wants. The Lochlins might intercept them, and often did, and deprive them of all they had; but that did not always happen. Leister, the bow-maker, having let fly his winged arrow, a hind leaped and fell; he was stepping up the side of the hill, to carry home the game, when a party of Lochlins came the way, and took up the bleeding animal. The wood and low mist concealed Leister. He marked their way, and taking a nearer course, let fly a winged arrow: the bearer of the hind fell; another took up the burden; the party left the wounded to draw out the arrow, and follow. The bow-maker again was before them, under cover of wood and mist; he let fly a winged arrow, which quivered in the neck of the loaded man; he fell; the rest fled, believing the wood was full of demons. The Lochlins were very superstitious. When the true owner of the hind was assured the enemies were distant, and would not return, he took up the animal, and left the wounded Lochlin writhing with pain, to rise at his leisure, or lie in his blood.

Olaus being now firmly settled, his men roamed far and near, and reported the weak state of the natives. He had his fleet in the bay of Leir, when returned from a cruise. As he was great by birth and might, he was getting rich by the plunder of his followers on land and water; he being entitled to an ample share of the booty. The fleet was commonly at sea, and came with their plunder and profit to the well known harbour. As the Lochlins were extending their power, no less than broad Albin would have sufficed, and in their ignorance, they expected the whole Island would soon be under the sway of Olaus, "the mighty."

The Gael could no longer bear the tyranny of the swarthy host. Their ancestors never submitted to a foe; they would rather loose their lives than liberty. Four young chiefs, the sons of the mighty men who fell in battle, began to gather their clans. They appointed time and place, and met on the east of Bein-mhor. They would avenge the death of their fathers, and their followers wanted to be led to battle. But two of them strived to have the chief command. Alpin rose, and boasted of his royal blood and high antiquity.[4] Arder was of higher antiquity,[5] and his followers were as many, and as brave. A third could show his deeds rather than words. The clans began to support the claims of their respective chiefs. The camp was like an ant-hill in motion. All began to draw their weapons, when an aged chief rose in the midst, and demanded to be heard. "Fly to your woods and rocks," says Aoser, "ere the Lochlins will hear of your folly! Oh! that I had fallen in the battle of the brave, and have not seen the fall of Albin! The Lochlins will possess the land; they need not fight, the degenerate sons of the mighty will fall by their own weapons." He paused. The young chiefs looked down. The people offered to himself the high honour. "No," says he; "my arm is weak; find a commander of strength and experience." A deputation was instantly sent to Somharle Mor,[6] who had retired with Clan Aonais, after the fatal battle, to the district of Morvern. He was found angling in Glen-du. He heard the call, and distrusting the strength and ability of the clans, declined the honour. Ruairi, the speaker, would insist. "The salmon that rises to my fly, will sooner leap on the grassy bank of the river." There was another rise, and the salmon was hooked. "A good omen," says Ruairi, as the salmon leaped on land.

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[4] Cnuic a's uilc a's Alpanich; hills, sprites, and Macalpins.

The clans received the hero with acclamation; all declared they were ready to pour their fury on the black foe. Somerled eyed them in silence, and was pleased at seeing the spirits of their fathers revive in them. But he soon convinced them of their rashness. He drew up the able-bodied men, and left the greater number, being the aged, the weak, and the young. He ordered each man to bring his cow, and kill it. Each one threw the hide over his shoulders, and Somerled marched his men along the west side of the mountain, till, arriving at a ravine, he brought them back on the east side, and, inverting the hide, they again marched in the former course, and returned the same way; then throwing away the hides, they moved in sight of the Lochlins in their vari-coloured garments. The strategy succeeded, as we shall soon see. To attempt concealment was of no further use. The commander ordered the *crann-tara*,[7] to be sent through the breadth of the land. Many soon came to augment the forces, who were kept in motion, though keeping the high land.

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[5] Gur fhios cia as do Arturich; the antiquity or origin of the Arthurs no one could tell.

[6] Somerled.

The Lochlin was quickly made acquainted with the gathering, and called his followers. The scouts described the appearance of each of the three armies they saw descending the mountain side. Olaus conceived that the natives must have received auxiliaries, and laid open his plan, which was, to annihilate them simultaneously. He divided the Lochlins, and gave the command of one division to Haco, of another to Harold, and he led the third division; giving directions to Haco to meet the first army that was seen, and pursue them if they fled; Harold was to meet the next; and the third, or all, would be met by himself. His chief concern was not to allow any to escape. The commander was not ignorant of the Lochlin's motion; glad to find that his strategy so far succeeded as to make Olaus divide his forces, his endeavour now would be to fight them while separated; he, therefore, appeared, and then withdrew; leading the great Haco further away from the other divisions. The latter, imagining him flying, hastened his men hither, and attacked the forces under Somerled. His men, hurrying in disorder, were soon beat. The boastful Haco fell, with many of his men, and the survivors fled. The commander knowing, from the heights, the rout of Harold, his wish was to lead him further from the scene of action, as the fugitives would inform the Lochlin of the fall of Haco. He succeeded, and waited his coming, on most advantageous ground. A fierce and bloody fight ensued; Harold was wounded, and taken prisoner.

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[7] Crann-tara,—*fiery cross*,—literally, gathering tree.

Olaus, learning from the fugitives of each division the real state of affairs, changed his plan; resolving to await the natives on the coast; little doubting that, elated with their success, they would come from their hills. The commander found it not easy to prevent the clans rushing on the foe; but, knowing Olaus better, restrained them. It would have been the rage of the stormy wave pouring over the black rock.

One who had fewer followers, and was not so distinguished as the other chiefs, withdrew with his men, and, knowing the Lochlin fleet was in the bay, took a circuitous route, and set the ships on fire. The sailors, leaping into the sea, followed the incendiaries to the beach, where a desperate fight ensued. Not a man was left alive on either side. One native, who swam ashore with a broken leg, and, lying beside a large stone, saw the direful fight, but could not go to the assistance of his friends, brought the report of the naval engagement to the clans.

Meantime, skirmishes took place, and the natives were generally successful. Olaus received news of the loss of the fleet, and was not sorry for it, well knowing the Lochlins would take to their barks were they not successful on land. The Lochlins were furious, as they were deprived of the means of removing from a country they were in all appearance to loose,—to return home, or try another region. They were sullen and mutinous, and were as desirous of battle as the clans. Olaus desired it too, and Somerled could not avoid a general engagement longer. The wiles and experience of Olaus was met with the bodily strength and indomitable courage of the Gael, and he prevailed, as they met in single combat. The Lochlins fled to the sea, forgetful of the loss of the "steeds of the waves;"[7] dreadful slaughter ensued, and they were forced to yield Their fort was stormed and taken.

What were to be made of the prisoners? The clans were desirous of returning to their own districts. The commander, and the two surviving young chiefs, settled matters. The terms were, that Olaus and the wreck of his followers, were to leave Albin, under promise never to return to disturb the Gael. In reward for his great service, Somerled was to have the Western Isles, and drive away the Norwegians; and that Olaus would be allowed time to build as many vessels as would carry him and his followers hence. This was a good opportunity for Somerled to build vessels for himself, and as many as adhered to him, to go and drive the Northmen from the Western Isles: the Lochlins were more expert at building ships, and better sailors; the clan that followed him, and many others that offered themselves, would learn of them. With these views, Somerled, the ex-commander, accepted of the Isles. Well might Alpin and Arder (Arthur) have given away what was not theirs, and on terms that Somerled could never hope to obtain. All the Western Isles, then, were long in possession of septs or clans,—petty kings, called Norwegians, of whom the king of Norway was supreme. But the ex-commander lived to see one of his sons elected a petty king, and his descendants afterwards became Lords of the Isles.

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[7] Steeds of the waves,—a poetical appellation of the ships of the Lochlins.

The young chiefs left the responsibility of removing Olaus and his people to Somerled. The inexperienced thought not of this, but the considerative were surprised at the easy terms the Lochlins obtained. The reason was soon known. Somerled saw Raguheldes,[8] the beauful daughter of Olaus, and fell in love. She was a child when she left the "land of snow," and Sweno, a Swedish prince, was also young. They loved each other. He left his fatherland for her sake, and was the flame of her tender heart. He only wanted to distinguish himself in battle to obtain her hand, and her sire had no objection to make them happy in a few years. But Sweno roamed through the country with his followers, oppressing and abusing the unprotected, till he met the chief who burned the fleet; they fought, Sweno fell; his followers fled. Raguheldes suppressed the feelings of her heart, but did not forget her first love. She declined not, nor encouraged the offers made by the hero; but he found it easier to conquer armies than subdue the will of the young beauty. He was not, however, discouraged.

Every vessel, as it was finished, was launched and tried. As the Gael wished his men to be expert sailors, his chief amusement was exercising Lochlins and natives. He invited the fair maid, whose delight was to "ride over the swelling waves," and "steer the bounding steed." The last ship built was the largest, and the best. Doubling a point, the wind rose with a north-west shower. Raguheldes seemed too daring, but was watched by Somerled, who, judging her intention, and, taking the rudder, gave her a gentle tap on the cheek, by way of reprimand. "Wouldst thou dare to do such in the presence of my sire?" said the indignant maid. As he doubled the point he steered back, sooner than the Lochlin expected. All were invited to the feast; it was the last time they might have another opportunity. They were happy, till Somerled turned to Raguheldes, touched her cheek with the palm of his hand, then, starting back, drew his sword, putting himself in the attitude of defence. The Lochlin was astonished; the men began to handle their weapons, and, to all appearance, they would fall with mutual wounds. Olaus demanded an explanation.

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[8] *Gaelic*, Raonailt.

"Let your daughter tell the cause," was Somerled's reply. Raguheldes, not in the least abashed, told her parent the insult he gave her, nor did she conceal her intention of drowning the foes of her people, and added, she much regretted not having succeeded in avenging herself on the conqueror,—she might have said, of the death of Sweno, her first lover. Her father reprimanded her severely. "Let him ask pardon for the insult offered," was the reply of the haughty beauty: on no other terms would she obey her parent, who loved her so well, although he would willingly have given her hand to the conqueror. He well knew he was obliged to him for the easy terms the natives, who had been so ill used by the Lochlins, granted. The lover asked the beauty's pardon, and the "conqueror was conquered." They were united on the following day, and the two chiefs parted, not to meet again.

The Lochlin went to the Isle of Man, the seat of government of the Norwegians in the Islands, where he ruled under the sovereign of Norway. He kept his word with the young chief and the ex-commander. We leave Somerled, and his young spouse, Raguheldes, as his life will be given afterwards.

MALCOLM IV.

Contemporaries, Henry of England, and Lewis of France.

Malcolm IV., surnamed the Maiden, succeeded his grandfather, King David. He was young, and, when on a tour through the kingdom, was proclaimed heir to the crown. He was only twelve years when he ascended the throne. Great hopes were entertained of him. A pestilence raged in the land, fatal to men and cattle. Somerled, thane of Argyle, a conspicuous character in the last chapter, attempted to possess himself of the kingdom, but was repulsed by Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, who commanded the king's forces ; but Somerled being a man of experience and resources, the government made peace with him, which he observed during the space of ten years.

After this, Donald, son of Malcolm Macbeth, excited tumult, but was taken in the attempted invasion, near Whithorn, in Galloway, was sent to the king, and inclosed in the same prison with his father. Having made peace with the king, both father and son were liberated shortly after.

After the death of Stephen, Henry the Second ascended the throne of England. He determined to diminish the authority, and exhaust the patience of Malcolm. He demanded that the territories which the kings of Scotland held in England should be restored to him. The kings had an interview at Chester. Prudence induced Malcolm to relinquish what he could not defend. Henry was ambitious, and would not be bound by the conditions into which their predecessors had entered. The King of Scotland did homage, in the same form by which his grandfather had done, to the King of England, "reserving all the dignities," and Henry, in return, conferred on him all the honours of Huntingdon. 1157.

Ambitious of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry, Malcolm repaired to the English court at Carlisle. Henry refused the expected honour, and the young prince passed over to France, where he fought under the banners of Henry, who then rewarded him with the honour of which he was so desirous. The nobles sent an embassy, reproaching him as forgetful of his ancient dignity. "We will not," said they, "have Henry to rule over us." Malcolm longed to return to Scotland, but found he was in the power of Henry; he wished to excuse himself to Lewis, yet was obliged to use great caution. He at last obtained leave, but, on his return, found the nobles displeased at his concessions to the King of England, in regard to the oath he had taken for those territories possessed by his ancestors, and for which they were bound to maintain peace. He was made sensible of his unpopular lenity, when he was almost mobbed at Perth. An insurrection in Galloway, in 1160, enabled him to employ his factious nobles, and to conciliate the affections of his people, by a display of his valour. He invaded that province twice, without success, but, in the third attempt to suppress the insurrection, he was more successful. He overcame the insurgents, and compelled them to implore peace. With Galloway may be mentioned Kirkcudbright, and a great part of Ayrshire. The inhabitants of Moray again rebelled in 1161. Malcolm led a great force against them, suppressed the rebellion, dispossessed them of their lands, and, scattering them over Scotland, planted new colonies in their place.

Henry, with guile and cunning, used all his endeavours to sow the seed of discord among the brothers, and insisted, for that purpose, that the counties in England should be restored to him; taking advantage of the facile disposition of the Scottish monarch, who was styled the Maiden. This was contrary to the agreement of former kings; and would entirely overturn the arrangement made by King David regarding his grandsons, as already mentioned. War was then declared between the nations. The kings having come a second time to a conference at Carlisle, the war being carried on to the disadvantage of both nations, after much discussion, Henry consented to leave Cumberland and Huntingdon to Malcolm, and took Northumberland All coming to the sentiments of the King of England, paid little regard to the King of the Scots, he having alienated the minds of his subjects, who judged him unworthy, and incapable of reigning.

In 1164, Somerled, thane of Argyle, again invaded the royal domains. But Malcolm, no longer the youth he formerly despised, had succeeded in inspiring his subjects with confidence in his government, and affection to his person, and, with the inhabitants of Renfrewshire, he defeated him.

Malcolm the Fourth died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and twelfth of his reign.

WILLIAM THE LION.

Contemporaries, Henry and Richard of England.

William, surnamed the Lion, succeeded his brother Malcolm in the government of Scotland. He was the bravest and the most chivalrous prince of the royal line. The first thing he did was to demand Northumberland from Henry, King of England. It seemed to him to be binding on him to hold entire all that his ancestors inherited. This demand led to a war between the nations. Henry was the aggressor, by invading Scotland. After successfully repulsing the King of England, William retaliated, by crossing the Borders, at the head of a numerous army, and wasted the counties of England with fire and sword. The chivalrous actions of William were more glorious than advantageous to the nation. While before Alnwick, William was treacherously betrayed to the English, and his army retreated and dispersed after the capture of their king, which happened in this manner :—A truce was made while the two nations were settling terms of peace. Ambassadors were sent to the camp; the conditions proposed were rejected, or not accepted; other ambassadors were sent hither with new terms. William was entirely off his guard, when a force surrounded him, when his attendants were few, and carried him off. Some followed, ashamed to suffer their king to be way-laid and abducted, and were made captives, 1174.

The English, elated by their success, invaded Cumberland, not doubting but they would possess themselves of that county; but they were sharply and rudely treated by forces led by Gilchrist, who, under the former reign, repulsed the thane of Argyle, and Roland, lord of half of Galloway. The English were glad to make a truce, and leave Cumberland and Huntingdon in possession of the Scots.

Meantime, David, brother of William, and Earl of Huntingdon and Garioch, then in the English army, obtained leave to return to Scotland. He procured that ambassadors should be sent to treat with the king of England for the liberty of William. This was not granted till a great sum of money was promised; fifteen hostages were delivered, and Edinburgh Castle, with the fortresses of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Stirling, surrendered in security. To ratify the terms, the kings, with their nobles, met at York. This treaty was again renewed by Richard, son of Henry.

The king, having returned, suppressed a tumult in Galloway, that arose in his absence. At a meeting called at Norham, the King of England vehemently insisted that they should acknowledge the Archbishop of York, being the metropolitan, to be the legate of the Pope. The bishops present were so few, in the absence of the greater number, they could not promise that the rest would consent. The matter was, therefore, postponed, till ambassadors sent to Rome, should bring the probation of the Pope.

Gilchrist, of whom honourable mention has been often made, shortly after, slew his wife, taken in adultery. She was the king's sister. A day was appointed for his trial; but, not appearing, he was put to the horn. His houses were demolished, and his effects confiscated. The money promised for the liberation of the king being paid, the castle of Edinburgh, which was twelve years garrisoned by the English, was restored, or given in dowry, to William, who married Ermengarde, cousin of the king; and, to strengthen the concord between them, it was enacted, that the kings should neither receive nor take under his protection, an enemy of the other. By this law, Gilchrist was secluded from society in England, as well as in Scotland. He passed a miserable life among strangers; unknown and unpitied, almost in want of the necessaries of life. At this time, William equipped an expedition against the Ebudean robbers in Moray, whose chief was Donal Bàn, (*fair*) who was descended from kings, and who assumed the title of king. He frequently landed with followers, and spread devastation far and wide, with a boldness that increased from impunity. The fleet sent round burnt his ships; and the king, marching by land, attacked and slew almost all his men. On his return, when near Perth, the king observed three men in rags, endeavouring to conceal themselves, whose wretched state and loathsome appearance struck him. They were brought before him. Gilchrist, who appeared the eldest, deploring his wretched condition, implored his mercy. The recollection of his high rank and valour made all shed tears. The king raised him from the ground, restored him to his former dignity, and received him into his friendship.

These things happened in 1190. Richard who succeeded his father in the preceding year, preparing to go on a crusade to the East, restored the forts to the King of Scots, and sent back the hostages, absolving him and his successors from all pactions, whether obtained by violence or fraud; and permitted that Scotland would enjoy her rights and privileges as in former times. William, on his part, that he should prove himself not ungrateful to Richard, gave him ten thousand merks, to defray part of the expenses of foreign war, and ordered David, his brother, Earl of Huntingdon, to follow him into Syria.

David returning from the East, his fleet being dispersed by a storm, was made prisoner by the Egyptians, but was released by an English merchant at Constantinople, and arrived in Scotland in the fourth year. All rejoiced at his safe return, especially his brother William. Richard, after suffering much, returned soon after. The King of Scotland went with his brother to congratulate him on his safe arrival, and brought him a donation of two thousand merks, mindful of his former kindness towards him, and sensible of his need of aid after his expenses. William becoming very ill in England, it was reported in Scotland that he was dead, and caused some commotion in the kingdom.

The King of England died, and his brother John succeeded him to the English crown.

The King of Scots went to England, to swear allegiance for the land he possessed in that kingdom. But the kings were more happy at meeting than on parting, because William refused to follow John to the war against his inveterate foe, the King of the French. When the King of England returned from France, he began to build a fort at Berwick. William remonstrated, but seeing it was vain to complain, he gathered his forces, and demolished what was erected. Armies were raised in both kingdoms, and hostile forces, ready to engage, encamped not far distant from each other; but before commencing hostilities, peace was made on the following terms: That William's two daughters would be given in marriage to the two sons of John. Great dowry was promised. The fort was not built. Hostages were given for fulfilment of the conditions.

An accident occurred on the king's return, which threatened fatal consequences. An inundation of the river Tay, swept away a great part of the town of Perth. The king and royal family had a narrow escape; many lives were lost, and great damages were made to properties.

Soon after this calamity, the king took Gothred Macwilliam, an Irish adventurer, leader of rebellions, who, afraid of being severely punished, refused food, and perished. This was the last act of William worthy of notice. He died at Stirling, at the advanced age of 74, in the 49th year of his reign, A.D. 1214. William was, in consequence of his courage, surnamed the Lion. He found himself, notwithstanding the reverses of fortune, in the same position in which he began his reign, after a series of forty-nine years, and the kingdom in a better state. He effected a change, in transferring the homage paid by the kings of Scotland, to their children, for the lands which the Scots possessed in England. But the King of England saw an old man reigning in Scotland, and a young heir.

William, had issue by Ermengarde, daughter of Richard, viscount of Beaumont, a son whom he named Alexander, (1198) to whom the Barons, in 1201, swore fealty. Towards the end of this reign, disputes arose between John, King of England, and the Scottish government, which were likely to involve the two nations in war; but by the mediation of the Barons on both sides, peace was restored in 1209.

ALEXANDER II.

Contemporaries, John and Henry of England, and Lewis of France.

Alexander II. succeeded his father. He was seventeen years when he was crowned at Scone, 10th December, 1214. He entered on his government in troublesome times, and settled matters with more prudence than could be expected of him at his time of life. First, having summoned a public meeting, he confirmed by a decree of the people, all the acts of his father, who was a man of the greatest prudence. His first expedition was undertaken to England, not from ambition, but to coerce the tyranny of John, being called by the ecclesiastical order. He began to lay siege to Norham, but agreed to certain terms of peace, and returned home. John, an unprincipled weak monarch, disregarding these terms, invaded Scotland. He laid siege to Haddington, Dunbar, and adjacent villages, laying them waste by fire and sword; and threatening to destroy and overrun all things.

Alexander, keen to engage, pitched his camp on the banks of the river Esk. John, to avoid meeting him, led his army by the sea-side, and burnt the monastery of Coldingham. He took Berwick, which was ill fortified, and destroyed it. Alexander pursued him retreating, marched through Northumberland, and laid waste the country as far as Richmond. But John, betaking himself by long marches into the interior of the kingdom, Alexander returned through Westmoreland, laying waste all places as far as Carlisle. A civil war between the King of England and his Barons distracted that nation. The mal-contents solicited the assistance of Alexander, and promised to surrender Carlisle to him. The Scots advanced to Norham Castle, which they besieged without success; but John desolated Yorkshire and Northumberland.

Lewis, son of the King of France, landed a body of troops in England, for the purpose of co-operating with the discontented of that kingdom; and Alexander, the King of Scotland, having engaged to support him, came to London. The confederates engaged themselves not to make separate peace; but the French, suffering defeat at Lincoln, deserted their allies, and the Scots, in consequence, were compelled to retreat, and seek reconciliation. Matters were referred to arbiters; and, having mutually agreed on terms of amity, Alexander married Joan, the king's sister. John, being poisoned by a monk, was carried to Newark, a town situated on the bank of the river Trent, where he died on the second day. Galo, the Pope's legate, set Henry, son of John, on the throne; and, having heavily fined the nobles, they were received into favour. He excommunicated Lewis, the King of France, and Alexander, King of Scotland. The interdict troubled their people more than their valiant monarchs. Peace at length being made, the Scots restored Carlisle, and the English Berwick. The monarchs were absolved from excommunication.

Alexander, having leisure from foreign war, attended to the internal government of the kingdom. He suppressed insurrections in the shires of Argyle, Moray, and

Galloway. The bishop of Caithness being murdered and burnt for exacting his tythes, he severely punished the perpetrators. Henry, King of England, riper in counsel than in years, came to York. There, in presence of Pandulf, the Pope's legate, Joan was given in marriage to Alexander, as agreed when peace was ratified. She lived not long, and left no children. She died in 1237. Two years afterwards, Alexander married again, Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great lord in Picardy, in 1239. She brought him a son that was baptised Alexander: about the same time was born the eldest son of Henry III., afterwards Edward I. The cardinal, Acgid, came to Britain in 1220, to collect money for the Holy War. He made collections in both kingdoms, which he raised by imposition from the credulous, and spent by the greatest profusion. When he returned to Rome, without the money, he pretended he was deprived of all he collected by robbers. Another legate was sent forthwith; but men, already twice cheated by the fraud of the Romish clergy, forbade, by a public act, his entering into the kingdom. Alexander, when he removed vices at home, resolved to do the same through the kingdom. Many troubles spring up through the license of war. He went with his queen to Ross, where Gillespie, a citizen, wasted the neighbouring country. He, Gillespie, crossed the river Ness, burnt the city, and cruelly butchered all that would not swear to him. John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, was sent against him, and took him as he was changing his hiding-place. He and his two sons suffered; and their heads, as witnesses of the fact, were sent to the king.

About this time, died Allan of Galloway, by far the most powerful of the Scots. He left three daughters.

Thomas, their illegitimate brother, in contempt of their sex and age, assumed the title of lord ; but, not content with their submission, he oppressed all who resisted him, with a force of ten thousand men, driving booty from the adjacent lands, which he laid waste. The king sent an army against him, when he and five thousand fell.

Walter Bisset, being foiled by Patrick Earl of Athol, at a tournament, the latter was way-laid and murdered. Bisset fled to England, and misrepresented to Henry the homage the King of Scotland made for the lands he held in England. The King of Scotland's reply to a demand of Henry was, that he never did, nor would, consent to hold from the King of England the smallest portion of the kingdom of Scotland. The barons supported him. The two kings led their armies to the field ; but Henry found the nobility lukewarm, or not ready to march against Alexander, who was a favourite of the English ; so he agreed to terms of peace. A marriage was proposed between the son of the King of Scotland and the daughter of Henry, so the two kingdoms were bound by closer ties.

The King of Scotland went with his army on an expedition against the Norwegians in the Western Isles, who were troublesome neighbours to many of his subjects, landing and plundering the coast and lands adjacent. There were Scots and Irish in many of the Southern islands. He was determined to visit all, and put a stop to future depredations. On his way hither he fell ill, and died in the small island of Kerrara, on the coast of Lorn, opposite to Oban. The ruins of an old castle still appear near the south end of the islet, in which he died.

Alexander the Second died in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and fifty-second of his age, A.D. 1249. His remains were interred in the Abbey of Melrose. Alexander was a good and successful king, in war and peace.

ALEXANDER III.

Contemporaries, Henry and Edward I. of England, and Lewis IX. of France.

The son of Alexander the Second was only eight years of age when he succeeded to his father, and was crowned at Scone. The faction of the Comyns was then the strongest. Some of the Scottish Council objected to his coronation; but William Comyn, Earl of Monteith, represented the danger of delay, as the King of England solicited a mandate from the Pope, declaring that Alexander, being his liege, ought not to be crowned without his permission. On this occasion, a bard, dressed in a scarlet robe, repeated, on his knees, in the Gaelic language, the descent of the king from the fabulous *Gathelus*. All the Scots at that time understood the Gaelic language. Ambassadors were sent to the King of England, and had an audience of him. In the following year the kings met at York, where Alexander was knighted by the King of England, and he was betrothed to his daughter, the princess Margaret. A thousand knights, in their robes of silk, attended the bride, on the morning of her nuptials, at York, being Christmas-day. No less magnificent was the parade of the bridegroom.

His nuptials being celebrated, Alexander did homage to Henry for his English possessions. The King of England insidiously demanded homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but the young king replied, that he had been invited to England to marry the princess, his daughter, and not to treat of affairs of state; that he would not enter on any important steps without the consent of the national Council. So peace was renewed, and continued firm and inviolate while Henry reigned. The archbishop, prince of the North, made a donation of six hundred oxen, all which were spent in the first course!

But, as Alexander was under age, it was decreed, by the counsel of friends, that he should use the advice of his father-in-law, as guardian, in matters of importance. The king having returned home, Robert, Abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom, was impeached for legitimizing the wife of Alan Durwent, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander the Second, who, by this act, if the king should die without children, would be heir to the kingdom. The chancellor, through fear of this act, as soon as he returned home, delivered the great seal to the nobles. Gamelin, who was afterwards Bishop of St Andrews, succeeded him. During the space of nearly three years, the king's counsellors managed business, and transacted matters as they were inclined, and the people were oppressed. The King of England being informed of the state of affairs, with paternal affection to the King of Scots, he came to Wark, a castle on the confines of Scotland, and called his son-in-law hither, with his nobles. Many changes of the greatest utility were effected, especially in the magistracy; and statutes, found beneficial in future, were enacted.[1]

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[1] Tytler's History of Scotland.

The king returned, with his wife, under an English guard, to the castle of Edinburgh. William Comyn, Earl of Tay, became more alienated, on account of the changes made by the King of England; however, he was compelled to submit by Patrick Dunbar. They intrusted the castle of Edinburgh to the English auxiliaries. A great part of the nobility and clergy, whose power was not diminished, took greater offence, and branded the changes as English yoke and slavery. their contumacy was such, as made it necessary to call them to court, that they should render an account of their transactions in preceding years. They despised the command. The young couple were relieved from confinement. Counsellors changed; there were civil factions, ecclesiastical violence, and papal extortion; the Comyns were the most powerful in the midst of these disturbances. The recusants were too conscious of their own misdemeanour to have trusted to the scrutiny of strict investigation.[2]

A ceremony in those days, of awful moment, was performed by the Bishop of Dunblane, and the Abbot of Jedburgh and Melrose, in the Abbey Church of Camus Kenneth, and repeated by "bell and candle" in every chapel in the kingdom.

The king, being with a few attendants, and without suspicion, transacting some business at Kinross, was seized and carried to Stirling, where, without violence, or stringent measures, all things were changed, and the party took possession of the great seal of the kingdom. The Comyns assembled in great numbers. A new regency was appointed.

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[2] Matthew Paris. Tytler.

Alan Durwent fled to England, entered into a treaty with the Welsh, who were then at enmity with the English. But the death of Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, the leader of the faction, put a stop to the commotion. He died suddenly. It was reported in England that he fell from his horse, but believed in Scotland that he was poisoned by his wife, an English woman, who had conceived a passion for an English nobleman, John Russel, by name, who she soon after married. She was imprisoned, but escaped by bribery. Russel and his wife having obtained letters from the Pontiff, brought an action of damages against their adversaries before the Pope's legate. The plea was dismissed, as the Scots declared, by their ancient privileges, that an appeal could not be made to a foreign court. The king, by his own power, gave authority to the Comyns to plead their own cause, as the crime of which they were impeached had been expiated by the death of Walter. The family was powerful, and it might have been dangerous to go to extremities.

The object of Alexander's visit to London was, not to treat of state affairs, but to exercise the right he held of the crown, and to reclaim his wife's portion. While there, Henry solemnly swore that, were the queen to give birth to a child, neither of them would be detained in England. The appearance of the royal persons was extremely magnificent. Having succeeded in his purpose, Alexander returned to his kingdom of Scotland, February 1261. The apparent cause of Alexander II. sailing to the Western Isles, was to chastise the Islanders for their invasions of Scotland; but the king of Norway considered his views to be, to make the petty kings renounce their allegiance to him as their supreme lord.

Haco made great preparations, under the pretence of protecting his vassals in the Western Isles, but with the real intention of humbling such as were not Norwegians in those islands, who might have renounced allegiance to him, and to invade Scotland. On the 7th of July he sailed from Bergen; his ship was entirely oak, and of great dimensions. When Magnus of Man, and Donal of the Isles, joined him, his fleet exceeded more than a hundred vessels, well armed.

John of the Isles excused himself to Haco, as he made oath to the Scottish king, and was dismissed with presents, but others were compelled to yield to him. Many were in a dilemma. Haco fined Angus of Cantire and Islay in a thousand head of cattle, sending some of his fleet to the peninsula of Cantire and the Isle of Bute. The cattle were brought to their place of rendezvous. The Ostmen of Ireland sent to Haco, soliciting his assistance against the English. He was inclined to aid them, but the whole army opposed the measure, and the following disaster made him lay aside all intentions of sailing to Ireland.

John, Prince of the Isles, evaded an interview with Haco while sailing through the Isles. Haco delayed too long making the intended attack on the kingdom. He passed the summer in the Isles, punishing aggressors, and hearing proposals of a treaty with the king of Scots. A tempest at last effected more than the diplomacy of the ambassador of the Scottish monarch. His vessels arrived on the coast; some sailed up Loch Long and Loch Goil; his men landed and spoiled the country in all directions. Returning with their booty, they were overtaken by a storm; some were lost, some stranded. Sametime, the army landing, were opposed by the natives, who joined the king's forces. The battle of the Largs ensued; the invaders fled. The king of Norway, having dismissed Magnus of Man, and Donal of the Isles, returned with his shattered fleet, and fragment of his great army, to the Orkneys, where he died at Kirkwall. Alexander, to follow up his success to subdue the kingdom of the Isles, collected an army. The king of Man met him and made his submission, receiving his investiture as vassal of Alexander. At the same time happened an incident of a romantic nature:—A Scottish knight of high birth, Robert de Brus, son of Robert de Brus, lord of Annandale and Cleveland, was passing on horseback through the domains of Tunberry, which belonged to Majory, Countess of Carrick. The lady happened at that time to be pursuing the pleasures of the chase, surrounded by a retinue of her squires and damsels. She encountered Brus. The young countess was struck by his noble figure, and courteously entreated him to remain and take the recreations of the hunting. Brus who knew, in those feudal days, the danger of paying too great regard to the ward of the king, declined the invitation, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by the attendants; and the lady, riding up, seized the bridle, and led the knight with gentle violence to her castle of Tunberry.

He, after fifteen days residence concluded the adventure as might have been expected. Brus married the countess, without the knowledge of the relatives of either party, and before attaining the king's consent; upon which Alexander seized the castle of Tunberry, and her whole estates. The kind intercession of friends, however,

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[3] Winton, vol. i. Mackenzie, vol. ii.

and a heavy fine, atoned for the feudal delinquency, and conciliated the mind of the monarch. Brus, in right of his wife, became lord of Carrick, and the son of this marriage of romantic love, was the great Robert Bruce, the restorer of Scottish liberty.[4]

Two years previous to this, died Henry King of England.

Alexander and his queen, now the king's sister, attended the coronation of Edward, Henry's son and successor. They appeared in great pomp and splendour. A letter from Edward's hand, declaring that nothing prejudicial to the independence of Scotland would be construed from this friendly visit, (1272) a form which feudal policy made necessary in those times.

Edward betrayed no signs of making aggression on Scotland. Both kings were in the prime of life. Scotland was peaceful, prosperous, and loyal, having a warlike and attached nobility, and a hardy peasantry.

Lately delivered from all disturbance of northern invasions, Magnus, the successor of Haco, having in 1266, consented to relinquish the Western Isles, with all his rights and claims, for four thousand merks, and a yearly tribute of one hundred, the inhabitants being allowed to leave the islands with their effects, the Orkney and Shetland Isles excepted. By this addition of the Western Isles by purchase, all seemed to promise every success. From the age of Alexander and the queen, who had already born him three children, the nation could look with almost certainty to a succession of a happy series of monarchs.

Edward had lately returned from Palestine, where he greatly distinguished himself. He received his brother-in-law with a courtesy and kindness which seemed increased by long absence, and the perils he had undergone.

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[4] Tylter, Fordun, Goodall.

Alexander, being free of foreign trouble, paid attention to the independence of the Scottish Church, against the pretensions of the Pope, restraining the encroachments of the Romish Clergy. About this time the kingdom of England was distressed with a civil war; five thousand Scots were sent to the assistance of the English monarch, under the leaders, Robert Bruce and Alexander Comyn, both of high rank; most of whom were killed in battle, and Comyn was taken prisoner along with the sovereign.

The arrogance of the priests and monks, troubled the domestic quiet of the King of Scots. They were so highly endowed by former kings, that they began to rise higher than the nobility, indulging in luxuries: if they could not excel them, they must at least equal them. The young nobility could not endure this, and treated them roughly. Complaints were made to the king. He thought the injuries were not so great as the priests pretended, or believed them not undeserving of the treatment, so he paid little attention to them. They resolved to go to Rome to complain; but the king, not unmindful of the troubles caused in England by Thomas-a-Becket, recalled those setting out, and settled matters between them and the nobility. Not long after Ottoban, legate of the Romish Pontiff, came into England, to sow civil discord. But not succeeding, he omitted public affairs, and attended to private gain; he called a Council in England, and summoned members from Scotland. He attempted to raise money to defray the expenses of the Holy War, laying certain sums on every cathedral ; scarcely was this refused than another legate was sent to Scotland.

The Scots thought the contributions heavy and unjust, and perceiving that the English seemed to wish they should make confession that they were of the same faith, and remembering how former legates squandered the monies collected, ordered the legate out of the kingdom. They, however, offered to collect money, and send soldiers to the Holy War, under the command of the Earls of Carrick and Athole, men of the first rank, who would serve under Lewis, King of the French. They would not trust the thousand merks collected to the pontiff.

Alexander experienced a severe domestic affliction in the death of the queen, who died on the 26th February 1274.

After a short interval, David the king's son, died when a boy. Edward, in 1277, attempted to ensnare the King of Scotland, who paid homage only for the lands held in England, into a submission of the kingdom. Alexander sought alliance for his family, at the purchase of the Western Isles; it was settled that Margaret daughter of Alexander would be given in marriage to Eric, son of Magnus, King of Norway. She was fourteen years. Her portion was fourteen thousand merks. It was left optional to her father to give one half in land; the price of which was then fourteen years purchase.[5]

Alexander, Prince of Scotland, then nineteen years, married Margaret, daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders.

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[5] Winton.

The ceremony was held with great pomp at Roxburgh. These alliances promised great happiness; but a cloud came over them, and a train of calamities followed. The Prince of Scotland died, leaving no issue. There was despondency over the kingdom. Margaret also died, leaving an only daughter, Margaret, Maid of Norway. The king was a widower, yet in the flower of his age. He assembled the Estates, February 1283-4, to settle the succession of the crown. The nobles solemnly bound themselves to acknowledge Margaret as their sovereign.

Alexander again married Joleta, daughter of the Count of Dreux. Scarcely had the nuptial festivities ceased, when the king was thrown off his horse over a precipice and was killed, near Kinghorn, in Fife, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign, A.D. 1286. His reign was happy. The people were not burdened with the expenses of insolent strangers. Scotland was considerably advanced in wealth, civilization, and comfort, under the Alexanders, Second and Third. There was commerce with foreign kingdoms; vessels came from different countries laden with commodities.

Alexander the Third divided the kingdom into four divisions, and journeyed over them, generally remaining in each one three months, to hear the complaints of the poor, and give decision. The lowest had access to him. From thus going among them he knew all, and he was known to his nobles and the people. He gave in command to magistrates, to punish the idle who learnt no art or trade, nor possessed patrimony. He considered the source of vices and crimes arose from indolence. He was prudent in his conduct towards the English, and used great precaution when he went to England, bearing himself with firmness and dignity. He was temperate in his habits, pure in morals ; in domestic relationship his kindness and affection were remarkable.

The Maiden of Norway sailed for Scotland ; and, landing in the Orkneys, she fell sick and died there. The offspring of Alexander was now extinct. The regency was superseded. and the tie that bound England and Scotland was broken.

It is worthy of notice that, from the death of Malcolm Canmore in 1093, to that of Alexander in 1256, Scotland flourished under vigorous monarchs, the lineal descendants of Canmore. This period, of nearly two centuries, was marked by various important events : Galloway was brought under subjection ; the last attack of the Scandinavians was repulsed at Largs ; the Hebrides ceded to the kingdom ; and foreigners invited to settle in the country, and encourage the arts, agriculture, and commerce.

Tytler, in his History of Scotland,[6] says, that in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, there were four races of men in Scotland ; but, then, the Western Isles did not belong to the King of Scotland. The inhabitants of the kingdom, since the conquest of Kenneth Macalpin, were Scots,—the British of Strathclyde excepted. But, although in possession of parts of two or three counties, they originally belonged to the south of the island of Great Britain. The removal of the seat of government by Malcolm, and his marriage with Margaret, caused a division of the Scots. The one retained their language, institutions, and customs, and remained isolated in their mountains; the other was changed in the progress of time in all three. The language of the court was the first to undergo a change. They received an accession of strangers, relatives, and friends of the queen, and refugees who fled from oppression to Scotland, where they received favour and protection. Malcolm also brought captives of both sexes from the counties he laid waste in England, whom he distributed among his Lowland subjects. These, perhaps, more than foreign favorites, effected a change of language. As there was hardly a family in the Lowlands of Scotland in which were not some, so that two or more languages were mixed. These, blended together, formed a new tongue, denominated, the Scotch.

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[6] Vol. ii.

Gaelic being the language of the kingdom since the expulsion of the Picts, and the same as the British or Celtic, we might suppose it formed the greatest part of the Scottish tongue, as the Saxon did the English, which is composed of many ingredients.

Note.

Gaelic at the court of Scotland.—At the coronation of Alexander III., the Bishop of St Andrews explained his obligations and duties to the young king, in Norman-French,—a useless expenditure of trouble, had that not been the language with which the child was most familiar; whilst, on the same occasion, the royal bard recited Alexander's genealogy in the "mother tongue," or, in other words, in the Scottish Gaelic. When Malcolm III. acted as interpreter between his queen and his clergy, Gaelic was evidently the language of the court, as well as the great body of the people; but the long residence of his sons, Alexander and David, at the court of Henry I., and their marriage with Norman ladies, introduced the use of Norman-French. Gaelic, then known as Scotch, remained the national language or "mother tongue;" and, as Bruce addressed a "parliament" at Ardchattan in that language, it was probably extensively known, but regarded, like German at the German courts a hundred years ago, as merely "the vulgar tongue." The ancestry of modern Scots—a motley tribe—"Scoti, Franci, Angli, Walenses, Galwalenses," not to mention the Norsemen and "Gall-Gael," have spoken a number of different dialects. Norman-French, confined only to the court and nobility, and higher clergy, died out during the English wars; and, as the royal poet, James I. (of Scotland) composed in the northern dialect of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, long known as "quaint Inglysee," this latter must have superseded French at the court of Scotland, some time in the fourteenth century. As quaint Inglysee, always spoken in the towns, spread over the country, banishing Gaelic to the mountain and the moor, it at length usurped the name of Scotch, stigmatizing the old "mother tongue," as foreign, Irish, Scotch, or Erse.—*Notes and Queries.*

PART III.

THE HEBRIDES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF NORWAY.

The Western isles were purchased, as stated in the last chapter, by Alexander of Scotland, the third king of the name, and have ever since been attached to the kingdom. The primitive Gael occupied only twenty of the largest Ebudæ or Hebrides, which they called Islands of Strangers.[1] But the Norwegians, when they took violent possession of them, went all the way to the Isle of Man, in which was placed the seat of government. The ruler, or petty king, was subject to the king of Norway. We have no evidence that the Gothic race (Gaill, *strangers*) ever went further south than the Island of Mull, and, consequently, could not have possessed the peninsula of Cantire at any time, as some have alleged. But the islands south of Mull were not uninhabited. The Erinich and Albinich possessed them; they being the same people, speaking the same language, and whose priests and legislators, before the Christian era, were the Druids. In the tradition of the country, the Gothic race was lost sight of entirely; and the Norwegians were supposed to have been the possessors of the Isles of Strangers. It is not surprising to find persons, trusting to memory, erring in their chronology, but it is astonishing to find Dr John Macpherson adopt the vulgar error.[2] Pinkerton was not altogether wrong in what he says of their antiquity. The date of the Norwegians taking possession of the Hebrides was not so distant, being in the ninth century. The Vikingers, or sea-kings, might have visited these islands at an earlier period. They have had the dominion of the seas from the earliest date. The Northmen became much sooner acquainted with the sea than the nations of the South, and they became more skilful in naval affairs. Their knowledge of sailing might have been partly acquired from necessity, and partly from choice. A Gothic race, there is no doubt, was the first that found their way to the Western Isles, but we need not repeat what we have said of them under the proper head; nor shall we now go back farther than A.D. 750, when Ragnor, who was surnamed Lodbrog, was put to death, when preparing to invade England. The Danes, or Scandinavians, were at this time very formidable to the north and west of Europe. For two hundred years they were a terror to the coast of England, and at last conquered the whole kingdom. They made frequent incursions on the coasts of Scotland, Ireland, Courland, and Pomerania. They could land on any coast; they had command of the sea,—watched opportunities,—and often plundered the country before forces could be gathered to oppose or prevent them. The Northmen were not only the best sailors, they were also expert and skilful in the use of their weapons; hardy, and inured to toil. Their vessels were all provided with arms, and the men were taught to swim. The government provided maritime forces; the Vikingers, or sea-kings, were the commanders.

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[1] Innse Gall.

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[2] See his Dissertations.

The said Lodbrog was king of the three nations. These were again separated into three kingdoms, under his sons. Harold Harfager, King of Norway, visited Scotland in the ninth century, chiefly with a view to coerce certain rebellious subjects of his own, who had sought shelter in these islands. Finding the Hebrides in confusion, and partly deserted after the ruin of the kingdom of the Picts, he fell upon, and seized the Orkneys and the Ebudæ, and settled the government of them in the Isle of Man, where a governor, or king, sat, under the sway of the King of Norway. The inhabitants of the islands were under various chiefs or rulers, denominated—at least some of them—kings. It has been asserted by some writers, that Harold Harfager also subdued a large portion of the north of Scotland; but that portion was the Islands of Orkney and Shetland. Kenneth Macalpin wrested all that the Picts possessed of Scotland from them, and governed the whole country, from those northern islands to the Wall of Adrian. Sweno again united the northern kingdoms of the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. He was succeeded by his son, Harold Blaatand, in 945. This prince made war on France and England, and attacked Germany, during the absence of the emperor. Canute, who succeeded Sweno, son of Harold Blaatand, ascended the thrones of Denmark, England, and Norway, having completed the conquest of the last mentioned kingdom, which was begun by his father, in 1017.

Olaus, one of the native princes of Norway, revolted. Canute subdued him, settled the country, and returned to England, leaving Denmark to his son Hardy-Canute. Magnus, the son of Olaus, re-conquered Norway, and obliged the Danish monarch to enter into a treaty with him, which gave to the survivor the estates of the other, in the event of his dying without male heir. Hardy-Canute died, leaving no heir, so Magnus became King of Denmark and England, throwing off the Danish yoke.

The inhabitants of the Western Islands were not left always in quiet possession, while under the sovereignty of Norway. The seat of government was in a distant isle; and the rulers were often changed. Olaus the Swarthy,[3] after his expulsion from the west of Scotland, as already related, governed in Man during the rest of his life,—forty years.

Haco, King of Norway, as noticed in the last reign, came to Scotland with a great fleet in 1263,—first to Shetland and Orkney, and then to the Isle of Skye. Being joined by Magnus, king of Man, and Dougal, son of the Lord of the Isles, he landed in Mull and Kerrara, where he received additional strength, having sent part of his ships to raise contributions on those who favoured the King of Scotland, or were not submissive to the government in Man. They returned with a thousand bullocks, levied on all who were supposed to favour the King of Scotland. The catastrophe and death of Haco being already mentioned, we have only to add, that the Orkney and Shetland Isles still belonged to Norway, after Alexander III. bought the Hebrides. Small as the price paid for the Western Isles, and the yearly tribute of a hundred merks, may now appear, the last was not regularly paid. A great arrear was due, till a lengthened controversy was terminated by a proposal of marriage between the son of the king of Norway and the princess of Scotland, when the claim was cancelled. Moreover, the Orkney and Shetland Isles were pledged to James III. (1450,) for 58,000 florins, as a portion of the Maiden's dower. The natives were to retain, unaltered, their ancient laws and customs.[4]

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[3] Aula Ruadh.

The Hebridians were never independent of Norway during three centuries, from the ninth, till towards the end of the thirteenth, though they paid tribute to the earls of Orkney and Shetland.

Though neither the Gael and Gaill, nor the Highlanders and Lochlins, ever intermarried, the inhabitants of the Western Isles did, during the long period they were under the sway of Norway. When Magnus sold the Hebrides, the inhabitants were allowed to leave with all their effects; but the Scots and Irish who lived among them, were left in possession of what they had. There were some Gael whose issue became heirs by intermarriages; and, having obtained properties that at first belonged to Norwegians, they had taken the name of the more wealthy original owners, a custom that has been continued to our times: hence the Macleods, Macaulays, &c., who were said to come from Lochlin, were the possessors. It is remarkable that the Picts, when conquered and expelled from Scotland, left no relics of their language: it was not a written one,—they were illiterate,—and scarcely a trace of it is to be found on land or water. We have noticed in their history, how the names of places were altered.

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[4] Hibbert.

But it was not so with the Norwegians. They left the islands by agreement; and some of their descendants, as stated, have remained. There was no intention of obliterating all that was theirs. Relics of their language, customs, and manners, are to be found in the islands, and many names of places on the coast of Scotland, as monuments of the Northmen, whether residenters or invaders. We might mention several, as, wick, *a bay;* ness, *a point of land;* and many others known to the Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian, and perhaps Pictish, all being the same language. The Tuetonic differing only in dialects, a Gaelic scholar has no difficulty in distinguishing foreign terms from his own, and likewise in tracing the ancient language in the English and Scotch tongues. Dr Jamieson, who should well know the latter, adopts the principle of Pinkerton, in the introduction to his Scottish Dictionary; but we cannot agree with either of them, in maintaining that the Scotch is a corruption of the English. It is a compound of other languages, as well as the English language is. We have a table of names in Beaufort's Map of Ireland, of 3842 words analyzed; 3028 were found to be Celtic or Gaelic; 171 mixed Gaelic and English; 623 English; 20 Scandinavian.

Chalmers mentions, in his Caledonian Relics of the Britons,—1. Names of promontories, hills, and harbours; 2. Of rivers, rivulets, and waters; 3. Miscellaneous names of particular districts. He, and the two Macphersons, fell into the same error regarding the Picts and the Scots, supposing they were the same people; and others have, without inquiry, adopted their opinion. The smallest consideration might have convinced them of the mistake; let a Gaelic scholar look on the two lists of kings, Scottish and Pictish, and he will at once recognize the one and repudiate the other. Having already offered some proofs, to show how the two nations differed in language, customs, and manners, we shall not instance more here.

But, before quitting the consideration of relics and monuments in islands and on the coast of Scotland, we shall briefly notice the buildings, of which there are ruins in many places. The most ancient of these are the hill-forts,—the rude and hurried works of the earliest inhabitants. They were erected in high places of difficult access. They were of earth and dry-stone building, and sometimes excavations in the sides of mountains. They might have been the work of the Gael and Gaill, the Scots and the Picts, who were always at variance. They became better known to other nations under the last appellations. They were not known as such by the Romans, who gave them the general name, Caledonians. Some mention has been made of the Scots and Picts in the third and fourth centuries; but Chalmers and Goodall say, they were not mentioned in history till the fifth or sixth. Pinkerton says the Pictish monarchy, anciently confined to the Hebride Isles, was by degrees extended over the north-west of Pikland, or present Scotland. Yet, he tells us elsewhere that they inhabited the east of Scotland, thus contradicting himself. The Picts certainly inhabited the north-west, but never possessed more than a third of the kingdom.

The next ruins we shall observe, were forts erected by the Lochlins, who were Danes, Swedes, Norwegians; they might be the one or the other, or at times united. These have been commonly called Danish forts. The invaders who erected them had more regard to convenience and strength, than magnificence or elegance. The materials were the most convenient they could find, and the exigency of the times obliged them to hasten the operation. The vitrified forts, as they have been styled, required more time, and greater ingenuity ; but we shall not here enter on the process used, of which no certain information can be obtained.

The third erections, of which there are picturesque ruins, were the castles of chiefs. They were erected on sites, where choice as well as advantage had a share, and there is no difficulty in ascertaining their era. The origin of the clans has been already stated ; but although they were distinguished by the chiefs under whose banners they fought the Lochlins, which was from the commencement of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, they might have taken some ages before they were settled in their respective districts, so that we cannot date the erections of these castles, which the great Highland chiefs built, till the twelfth or thirteenth century ; nor need we enlarge on the subject, as the ruins have been often described. The Highlands and Isles gradually divided into districts, or rather princely domains ; and when these were separated by seas, or other natural boundaries, we find ruins of castles in opposite sides, exhibiting a bold front of defiance.

There is in the district of Moidart, Inverness-shire, Castle-tioram, a magnificent ruin of the last description. Ellan-tioram, at high water, is an island, at low water, a rock jutting out into the Atlantic, and a piece of the mainland. At the entrance of Craig-Cinloch, looking over it from the north-east, is an old camp, fenced round on the east by a dry stone wall ;

inclosed with the rock and thick wood, is an area of table-land. The tradition of the country says it had been a stronghold of the Lochlins, who were driven from the country. There they bade defiance to their pursuers, who could find no access to them. At last the Scots stationed some archers on the high hill on the north-east; these watched, and picked off any that moved about in the camp. Finding their numbers daily diminishing, they decamped from the south-west, letting themselves down over the steep high rock, by taking hold of trees and bushes, till their friends received them at high water into their boats.

Until a narrow road was made of late through Craig-Cinloch, a person could only pass through it by taking hold of branches of trees. The scene from the top of the craig is most picturesque: at high water there is a large arm of the sea from Shona, with islets, reaching some miles inland; when the tide recedes, the river from Glen-Moidart, winds its serpentine course to the Atlantic, through bleak rocky shores and dark heathery hills, not very inviting.

There are many other remains, as cairns and tumuli, stone coffins and carrara, or large stones on end, commemorative of battles or the deaths of mighty men, too many and minute to be noticed here. These are of more ancient dates than the castles, or the death of Lochlins, whose fate or bravery left a name behind.

THE LIFE OF SOMERLED.[1]

Of the early years of Somerled little is known. His first public appearance was at the battle which proved so fatal to the clans whose chiefs fell. His father, like others whose houses the Lochlins burnt, retired to the district of Morvern, where he resided with his family in a cave, and hence was called "Gillebride of the cave." The part that Somerled acted in expelling the Lochlins from the west coast of Scotland, has been already related, so that we have only to write his biography since his espousal to Raguheldes,[2] the daughter of Olaus, the Lochlin. Nothing certain is known of his expedition to the Western Isles; but he made little progress in his conquest of the islands. He landed in Argathelia, (Argyle,) and laid claim to lands of no small extent. His rights and his claims, whatever they were, being known to shenachies and bards, who derived his descent from Centimachus,[3] the progenitor of the Collas, he failed not to produce evidence, from oral tradition and recitation, to corroborate his statements, and justify his taking possession.

Somerled was less than welcomed by the inhabitants of Argyleshire, which was then of greater extent than now, and included most of Lochaber. He made encroachments on his neighbours, and was not slow in obtaining by strength what was desired more by will than right. Any chief or petty king that opposed him, were always sure of faring worse. Somerled grew in power and increased in wealth, and soon became the thane of Argyle.

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[1] Somharle Mor Macghillebride.

[2] Raguheldes,—Gaelic, Raonailt.

[3] Centimachus, Conn-ceud-chathach; Conn of the hundred battles, to whom the clan Domhnuil look up as their progenitor. They call themselves Siol-Chuinn.

Olaus, his father-in-law, now the King of Man, kept his word, and never visited the west coasts of Scotland again; but his son Godfrey, a turbulent and restless youth, landed with a hostile force in the peninsula of Cantire, laying claim to it in right of his father, alleging it was not included in the paction made with the young chiefs: but he soon found that his relative, the powerful thane of Argyle, was not the man to relinquish any part of his wide domains. He was obliged to leave the country he invaded, and fled to Ireland. Godfrey being of an enterprising spirit, and having acquired a name, from his activity and personal appearance, he was there elected king of a province. But being despotic, and elated by his success, he alienated the affections of those who befriended him most, and was compelled to abdicate, and leave the country.

Godfrey sailed to Norway. In his absence, his two cousins assassinated their uncle, in 1152, and seized the reins of government. Godfrey hearing of the death of his parent, and the usurpation of his cousins, returned to the Isle of Man, seized the murderers, and made them suffer the punishment they so richly deserved.

The ambitious Godfrey could not rest content with the island in which his father governed so long, and made great preparations, in order to seize on all the Hebrides, in which were several chiefs, all under the sovereignty of Norway. Orfin, son of Ober, possessed those in the south, but unable to defend himself against Godfrey, he sought the assistance of the thane of Argyle, who readily came to his aid, having no desire to see his relative so near a neighbour. When they joined their ships and galleys, to the number of eighty, the thane took the command. Somerled and Godfrey joined battle. The latter was obliged to fly, and was pursued. The thane took and destroyed fifty-three ships of all descriptions, and, landing in the Isle of Man, overran it with fire and sword. Godfrey was glad to come to an agreement. By the treaty, he left all the islands south of the point of Ardnamurchan in the peaceful possession of Orfin, who, from gratitude to his friend and ally, erected these islands into a kingdom for his son Dougal, the ancestor of the Macdougals of Lorn and Argyle. This was in 1158. We shall not follow the adventures of Godfrey: he died in 1178; his remains were carried to Iona, and laid among kings and chiefs.

Somerled always acted on the offensive, and was hitherto successful in all his wars and undertakings. He possessed extensive domains, and had great influence in the West of Scotland. The most of the Western Isles were under his control; but his ambition was greater;[1] no less than the kingdom[2] would have satisfied his boundless ambition, and occurring events encouraged him to entertain the hope of obtaining the whole country, namely, the infancy of Malcolm, who was only twelve years of age when he began to reign, and the pestilence which was so fatal to men and cattle.

Somerled never owned allegiance to the King of Scotland, and he now turned his forces against his infant son. Gilchrist, the Earl of Angus, commanded the king's army; he opposed and repulsed him, but could neither conquer nor subdue him. A peace was concluded with Somerled, which was considered of so much importance, as to have formed an epoch in the Scottish charters, 1153.

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[1] Erat per id tempus Argathelexæ thanus Summerledus cui erat fortuna supra genus, et supra fortuna animus erat.—*Buchanan*, lib. vii., chap. 37.

[2] Albin, *Scotland.* The bards alleged Macdonald possessed a house more than half of the kingdom,—*Tigh a's leth Albin.*

Somerled observed the peace made with the King of Scotland during the space of ten years. It was during this interval that he assisted Orfin, and made Godfrey submit to his terms, as mentioned above. At the same time, Somerled went to Ireland, but little is known of him while there, though no doubt he was preparing for a greater enterprise, and watching the first opportunity of quarrelling with the King of Scotland. Being now firmly established on the mainlaid, and having great influence in the islands, Somerled seized the first occasion of breaking the treaty of peace. He had equipped, what in those days was considered a great fleet, and sailed up the Clyde in 1164, with sixty ships or galleys, and a great armament, which was estimated, under such a leader, sufficient to conquer the nation.

He advanced as far as Renfrew. The inhabitants rose in a body, and joined the king's forces; a battle was fought, in which his son Gillecalum fell. The loyalists claimed the victory, although Somerled held possession of the field. This was the last of his battles. Various accounts have been given of his death. The most probable, nay, the most certain is, that he was assassinated in his tent. Some of the people of the country, who mingled with his men in disguise, found their way, in the dead of night, into the invader's tent; and, having killed him, escaped during the confusion into which the army was thrown. It was never discovered by whom the dastardly deed was perpetrated. As a positive proof that he was not vanquished, he and his army kept possession of the field of battle, his followers afterwards returned unto their own country unpursued, and his posterity were left in peaceable possession of the mainland and isles acquired by his prowess. The issue of Somerled, by Raguheldes, were Gillecalum, slain in the battle at Renfrew; Dougal, the ancestor of the chiefs of the clan Macdougal; Reginald, of the clan Donuil; Angus and Olaus, who died without issue; and a daughter, who was married to Wimund, an Englishman of obscure birth, who was promoted to the See of Man. He pretended to be a son of Angus, Earl of Moray. He collected a number of associates, and made piratical excursions into the Western Isles. He invaded Scotland, pillaged the country into which he found access, slaying the inhabitants; but he became so arbitrary and intolerant unto his followers, that they rose against him, and delivered him to the government. He was deprived of his sight, and confined in Roxburgh castle during life, A.D. 1153.

A full-length portrait of Somerled is in a large stained glass window, in Lord Macdonald's Castle of Sleat, Isle of Skye; and a relic of him, his drinking cup, is in the castle of Dunvegan. Why the Macdonuil adopted the patronimic Siol-Chuinn, might have been from the vanity of being of the highest antiquity,—as far back as the second century of the Christian era, according to the Irish and Highland bards and shenachies;[3] or rather it might have been owing to the strains of the ancient bards in the time of Somharle Mor, tracing his descent from Conn, in a line through the Collas, whose deeds were recorded in the song..

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[3] See the expulsion of the Lochlins in the West.

MEMOIRS OF CHIEFS DESCENDED FROM SOMERLED.

The Lord of the Isles was descended, on his maternal side, from King Robert the Second. He who was called the good John of Islay, married Lady Margaret. Donald, his eldest son, was Lord of the Isles. He granted to his brother, John Mòr,[1] a large portion of the island of Islay and Cantire. John Mòr enlarged his possessions, in the fourteenth century, by marrying Margaret Bisset, heiress of the district of the Glens, in the county of Antrim, Ireland. His successors added to the hereditary possessions, likewise, by marriages; and, rising in power, became Earls of Antrim. The Lord of the Isles lived independent of the kings of Scotland, till Baliol concluded a treaty with the Lord of the Isles, (1334-5,) who consented to be a liegeman; receiving in return the Islands of Mull, Skye, and Islay, with the lands of Cantire and Knapdale.

AILEAN MACRUAIRI; *i.e.* ALLAN, SON OF RODERICK.

This chief lived at Castle-tioram, Moidart, a rocky coast that overlooks the Atlantic. This is one of the most picturesque and entire ruins of the old castles of the Highland chiefs, and the most impregnable of the time. Allan was not the least warlike of the chieftains, nor the least powerful. He had, at one time, three chiefs prisoners in his castle; kept them a year and a day in "durance," and then allowed them to depart, giving Macintosh a piece of advice, "Not to boast of his independence while Ailean Macruairi was living;" alluding to a report he had heard of him, when "mellow" at a feast, amid his friends in the castle he built in a lake; namely, "Let Ailean Macruairi now do what he can." The chiefs had had some conflicts. Notwithstanding the Macintosh's security, Allan, son of Roderick, had seized him in the island, and brought him prisoner to Castle-tioram. It happened thus: One of the clan in Moidart offended his chief by some misdemeanour, and dreading his judge, who was not slow to punish, fled the country, went to Macintosh, implored protection, and obtained his petition. On hearing the above expression, his clan-blood ran high; he could not bear any defying his own chief, and took the first opportunity of leaving, and returning to his own country. He thought it a good opportunity of appealing to the feelings of his chief, and related the saying of the head of the clan Macintosh. Macintosh allowed no boat on the lake but his own, which he always kept on the island. "Will you be guide, if we overlook your past conduct?" demanded his chief. He assured him he would be a faithful guide. Allan told his men to be ready with his light *birlin*[2] at cock-crow next morning: it was launched on Lochshiel; after rowing to Glenfinan, they withdrew the pins, and went over moor and mountain, joining the planks together at every lake they met, till they arrived, in the dark, at the lake of the castle. Macintosh was seized in his bed, and carried away to Castle-tioram.[3]

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[1] Mòr, big; great in stature.

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[2] Boat of many oars.

At another time, the chief of Castle-tioram happened to be in his birlin between Moidart and the Small Isles. The man on the look-out descried another large birlin coming over the point of Ardnamurchan. "Whose is she?" asked Allan. "The chief of Maclean's." "My dire foe." "Shall we put about," asked the steersman. "She will overtake us," says the watchman, "she is large and full of men." "Go on," says the chief; "spread my plaid over me, stretched on this beam: if hailed and questioned, say you are conveying Ailean Macruairi's remains to Iona: play the dead march, piper." They were hailed, and answered as directed. "Let them pass with the dead," said the chief of the Macleans; "we are well quit of Allan." As soon as out of sight, Allan rose, "Row," says he, "to the nearest point of Mull." He landed, and taking some of the men, ordered the rest to row to the bay of Aros; he ascended the highest part of the country, and set fire to the houses in his way to Aros.

Maclean landed in Moidart, and his men commenced to uplift the cattle.[4] Some, who ascended the highest hills, saw the island of Mull in a smoke. They ran and informed the chief. "Ha!" says he, "Allan is come alive; leave the *creach*, let us back, and intercept our foe on his return."

Allan arrived at Aros. "Row, men," says he "to Loch Sunart, and avoid a second meeting: quick, ere he double the point." They landed in Salen; withdrawing the wooden pins, the birlin was in planks, on the shoulders of the rowers; launched again at the water of Shielfoot, and Allan was in his castle as soon as Maclean arrived in his own. He saved the moveable stock of the country, by burning a few thatched houses. It was reckoned no disgrace; it was retaliation.

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[3] Macintosh had his retainers at the castle, as the custom was of old. The Moidart man was unheeded among them. He was hence called Maccuimhne, *the mindful son*; hence Macqueen.

[4] Creach.

Allan Macruairi was a man of strategy; he was also brave, and was courted and dreaded. He supported Angus, Lord of the Isles, in the battle of Bloody Bay, in the Sound of Mull; followed the standard of Lochalsh in the invasion of Ross and Cromarty, and acquired a large share of the booty. He was no less cunning than brave, of which he at times stood in need. He ranked high among the Highland chiefs; but it is alleged of him, that he was not very scrupulous in using means; and he was often blamed by one party, as much as he was lauded by another.

Allan was first married to Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan's daughter, a Macdonald and a relative; his second wife was a daughter of Lord Lovat, by whom he had a son, who was to inherit his castle and princely dominions. The conditions on which he received a lord's daughter in his old age, was, his passing the lawful issue of his first marriage; which, as shall be soon seen, led to strife and bloodshed. He lived to a great age, and left his son by Lord Lovat's daughter in minority. He was educated with his grandfather, and was called Galda, *stranger*, by his own clan.

Ailean Macruairi was great-grandson of the chief of Clan-Ranald.

RAOGHAL GALDA.

Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, brought up his grandson as became the chief of a great clan. When he obtained his majority, he came with a few friends to see his clan, and take possession of Castle-tioram. The clan gathered in numbers from all the districts of the clan Raoghail, as the Macdonalds of Clan-Ranald were called. There were great preparations making; the young chief observing the bustle, asked what it meant, and was told they were slaughtering bullocks, and preparing a feast for himself and friends.

"Oh!" says he, "there is no occasion, a few fowls might serve us," meaning those who accompanied him from the North. The people, as they surrounded the castle to hail the stranger, heard the untoward words, which was repeated among them by his elder brother, who was not a silent spectator. They were indignant, and spurned at the craven-chief, *Raoghal nan cearchd.*[1] The fatal words could not be recalled. The strangers received a private hint to withdraw, and the grandson of Lord Lovat returned again to the North.

His eldest brother, being brought up in the country, was denominated *Ian Mudartach, i.e.* John of Moidart. He was immediately elected chief. He was intimate with the clan, and they were partial to him. The contract of marriage by their late chief being arbitrary, and contrary to the ancient custom, was thrown aside. But in those days, power overruled all. The newly elected chief, and his friends, were aware that his grandfather would attempt to maintain the claim of the rejected chief, and that no time was to be lost in securing themselves from the storm that was brooding in the North. They soon learned that the Frasers were gathering. The counsel of the wise among them, was, that the clan should march against the Frasers, and save their country from the devastations of war. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan, so nearly connected to the late chief by marriage, were the bravest in the West. The father and son, though low of stature, excelled in personal strength and in prowess. They were both red haired, and short, but they were the stay and support of Ian Mudartach.

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[1] Reginald of the hens.

The clan gathered, and instantly marched. They met the Frasers at the end of Loch Lochay, in Lochaber, in summer, 1554; the day was warm: the battle commenced, and grew hot; the hostile forces fought all day; the men threw off philibeg and all, and stripped to their shirts; hence *Blar-leine*, the appellation of the memorable battle. The clans became desperate and reckless of life, and, on both sides, exhibited prowess and feats of arms almost incredible. Two powerful men met and fought with their swords; so equal and famous swordsmen were they, that neither of them was like to gain; they had never met before, but were no strangers by report. "Art thou the smith?"[2] (blacksmith to trade) "Yes." "Art thou the smith?" "Yes." They spoke no more. Throwing away their weapons, they grasped one another in their brawny arms; they wrestled; they were equally matched; who would prevail? who would yield? neither. They turned and twisted themselves in the water, till they went beyond their depth, and were, like many others that fatal day, drowned; they were afterwards found together in the grasp of death.

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[2] An tu air gobha? 's mi an gobha.

Ian Ruadh Beg senior and Raoghal Galda met, and fought with their swords. The old hero's breath getting short, he was losing ground. He saw his son passing. "I hate to see the fugitive's badge," says the father. "Step forward, old man," replied the son; "let the son take the father's place."[3] The junior leaped forward, and engaged the *stranger*. The brave youth soon made the son also yield ground; but the wily father, who saw the consequence were the rejected chieftain to gain the day, called to him, "Take warning young man behind you."[4] The brave youth turned his head, by the sudden start given him, and was cut down. The valiant youth dead, it was now revenge. The men of the North, careless of life, poured their wrath on the Macdonalds; but the Frasers suffered most. The whole clan were nearly exterminated. Fortunate for the race, the married gentlemen left their wives in the family-way. Eighty gentlemen of the clan Fraser fell that day, and few of the common men escaped. Little John Roy received a sword-cut that opened his brain. It was not a mortal wound; but the surgeon being bribed, when dressing the wound, stuck a large pin into it, and attempted to escape. John thrust his sword through the traitor; and, understanding by whom the dead man at his feet was bribed, he would have served them in like manner, had he lived.

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[3] Scorna leam suaicheantas duine òg a's e ticheadh. Ceum air aghaidh da'n 't sean duine, mac an air aite an athair.

[4] Cha bhi mu'r brath foille dhuit, sin iad air do chul thaobh.

They were of his clan; they feared him, but dared not face him.

The Frasers had cause to mourn the day they met the Macdonalds in hostile strife; and the latter repented, when too late, the opinion they entertained of the brave youth when they first saw him in the castle of his fathers. The two John Roys were allowed to be the best swordsmen in their day; yet they both would have fallen before the young hero, had he not been beguiled.

ALLAN CLANRANALD.

This was the chief who fell in the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1718, who was so much beloved by his friends, and respected by his enemies. He was generally known by the name, "The brave Clanranald," and was distinguished at home and abroad. He acquired his military education in the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, where he fought along with his maternal uncle, the Duke of Argyle.

Allan fell in one of the great battles, and was thought to have been mortally wounded. He lay among the dead and dying, never expecting to see the scenes of his early youth, which he described in beautiful pathetic strains, and sung, like the wounded swan, his last ditty, the halcyon days of his island home,[1] the remembrance of which was the theme of the poem to be found in R. Macdonald's collection, erroneously entitled an "Ancient Poem." In his dying state, he observed a man gathering spoil among the dead, and knocking out the brains of any in whom there was life. He was coming towards him, and there was no doubt but he would share the same fate. He managed to rise on his elbow, and grasped the gun of a dead man beside him ; it was loaded ; he aimed at the murderer of the dying ; then laid himself down to rest.

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[1] The Clanranald chieftains resided then at Benbicula, South Uist.

The ladies of a noble family in the vicinity, sent servants to the field of battle, to examine the wounded, and ascertain whether they could relieve any. The Highland chieftain was carried to their castle, and, by their attention and care of him, Allan became convalescent ; but, being unable to join the army, was ordered home. In gratitude to the noble family who saved his life, he offered his hand and his princely estate in the Highlands of Scotland, to one of the young ladies. Lady Penelope accepted the offer, though made aware that, owing to his wound, she would not bring him an heir to his great estates ; she left all her friends abroad, and was happy while he lived. After his death, a gentleman of the family paid his addresses to her, expecting the honour of chieftainship from the connexion ; she declined his offer, saying, she would return to her own country and people ; having lost Allan, she had lost all that was dear to her in Scotland.

Allan being asked to join the Loyalists, his answer was, that his family was always the first in the field of battle, and the last to leave it. He called out his men, a numerous clan, and, having him at their head, they were a host. His maternal uncle, the Duke of Argyle, was on the opposite side, in 1718. The day he fell, Allan paid more than ordinary attention to his toilet, and appeared with all the badges of honour gained in the foreign wars. His friends observed to him that he made himself too conspicuous to the sharp-shooters. His reply was, that he had lived the life of a soldier, and would die like a soldier. He seemed to have a presentiment of his fate, and said to his men, pointing to a certain spot of land, "If I fall to-day, you'll lay my remains yonder."

A marksman in the hostile army aimed at the conspicuous chief: he fell. His men, regardless of their position, crowded about him in a distracted state. Glengary, seeing their danger, came forward; and, throwing his bonnet into the air, called aloud, "Revenge to-day! weep to-morrow!"[1] which put a stop to the wailing, and roused them to fight.

The Duke of Argyle, seeing the manner in which the clan were led, said, "Allan their chief has fallen!" Well he knew he would lead his men in a different manner. The bards who always sung his praise, had now the melancholy duty to perform, of wailing the too early death of the beloved valiant hero and chieftain.

SIR ALEXANDER MACDONALD, MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE CELEBRATED MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

Though not a chieftain, Sir Alexander was as famous as any of them. None excelled, and few equalled him, in feats of valour. None rose higher in the noble strains of the bards. He was the theme of highest praise to the Loyalists, but the terror and dispraise of the opposite party. We have heard his memory branded as devastator and plunderer, in the county of Argyle, and mothers calling on Alasdair Mac-Cholla to *hush* their young children to sleep. Many stories have been told, and are still remembered of him, even at his birth, which frightened all in the island of Colonsay. Great noise was heard that night, as shooting of fire-arms, neighing of mares that picked their foals, and bellowing of cows that dropped their calves. The women were alarmed, and consulted what was to be done. Nothing good would come of the new-born son; and they declared, to prevent evil, that it should be smothered. There was one dissentient voice. "No," says she, "the child shall live, and be a great hero; he will conquer in all his battles, till he pitches his standard at the Miln of Gocum-gò. Give him to me! I shall be his foster-mother." The child owed his life to his *muime*.[2] Gocum-gò was remembered, and often mentioned in Colonsay, though no one knew where it was.

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[1] Dioltas an deugh a's bròn a mairseach.

Alasdair Mac-Cholla was son of Colla-Ciotach,[3] or Col, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Antrim, who was of Scottish extraction, as previously mentioned. Col was a brave man, and had come from Ireland to Cantire, in hopes of obtaining possession in the peninsula, or in Islay; but, finding all lands occupied by those who had a legitimate claim, and being told that Colonsay, an island farther north, was in possession of a Macphee, he went with all the assistants that volunteered their services, and expelled Macphee from the island, of which it was alleged, he took violent possession. Macphee was the strongest man in the West, next to Calum Garbh Macleod of Raasay.[4] But Col had forces with him; and, having many friends in the isles, he kept possession of the island of Colonsay, till he unadvisedly joined his son at the battle of Inverlochay. He kept an excellent barge, in which he sailed among the Hebrides, and frequently visited some of the Campbells of Argyle, and formed friendship with the first gentlemen there.

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[2] Nurse.

[3] Ciotach, *left-handed*.

[4] Calum Garbh; garbh, *thick*, *stout*.

Alexander grew in strength and comeliness, and many feats of valour have been related of him. A mad bull of his father's was once chasing any that happened to come in his way; all were flying; but Alexander caught him by the horns, and kept him till a person brought ropes and bound him. There was no athletic exercise practised by the youths of the islands but Alexander tried, and excelled in all. Colonsay was too small an island for him; he crossed over to Ireland, and was received and acknowledged by the Macdonalds of Glenluce.

At the close of year 1643, in terms of a solemn league between England and Scotland, a large army was raised in the latter kingdom, for the purpose of aiding the Parliamentary cause. As the army was immediately to enter England, King Charles deemed it expedient to make a diversion in Scotland. He therefore granted a commission to the celebrated Marquis of Montrose to proceed to that country, and to place himself at the head of the loyal Highland clans; while the Marquis of Antrim should embark two thousand Irish on the West coast. The Earl of Antrim, a nobleman of great power and influence, then lived at Oxford, and was sent to raise auxiliaries to be sent to the West of Scotland, in April 1644; and the Marquis of Newcastle was to furnish Montrose with a body of horse to enter the South of Scotland. Montrose could get no more than a hundred horse, badly appointed, with too small field pieces, and eight hundred foot, at Durham, when he entered Scotland, April 1644.

Being thus ill provided, Montrose was advised at a council held there, to resign his commission, and go abroad; to that his chivalrous spirit would not submit; he determined to go with two or three friends to the heart of the Highlands, and try his fortune.

The Irish auxiliaries were raised. There were three competitors for the command. Alexander Macdonald was one of them; another was so well connected that he was sure of the appointment, and was likely to obtain it; when Alexander rose, and wielding his sword, said, it was in the strongest hand in Ireland. "And which is the next?" demanded the confident opponent, not doubting but he would name himself. "There it is," readily answered the son of Coll-Ciotach, throwing his sword into his left hand. His father used his left; but he could use both hands. He was appointed.

Alexander Macdonald sailed with the auxiliaries from Ireland, July 1644. Passing through the straits by Corie Vrechan, the poetess Dorothy Brown of Luing, seeing the gallant bearing of his vessel, in advance of the transports, composed her poem in praise of the hero. It is inimitable.

He first landed at Kinloch-Aline in Morvern, and took the castle; from thence he crossed to castle Mingary in Ardnamurchan, but met resistance that would take longer time than he could well spare. He could brook no delay. He made his men bring the roofs of all the thatched houses in the neighbourhood—it was no great hardship for the inhabitants, in that season to lie under the wide canopy of heaven,—and desired them to pile the roofs, wood, and straw, round the castle, and set fire to the straw and timber. The inmates were soon enveloped in smoke and flames, and surrendered.

Mingary castle is now a grand ruin, roofless, but with entire walls, within which was then a modern building of the Campbells, a clan which Alexander could not bear.

Alexander Macdonald proceeded north, landed his men in Knoidart, and sent his ships to Loch Eishart in the isle of Skye. He was joined by the Macdonels of Glengarry. Having gone to Lochurn with some of his men, they caught some sheep on the hills for immediate use, and would have partaken of them had they had utensils. "See that smoke!" says the commander; "ascend to the cave from which it issues, and you will find pots or caldrons, I assure you." The men went, and returned wanting what they could not take. "What!" says he, "not give you what I want!" He ran up the hill, entered the capacious cave, and took hold of a caldron that was boiling over a large fire; the captain of the banditti,[6] a grim big person, took hold of it also, telling him his betters must be served first. Alexander could not wrest it from the grasp of the redoubtable robber, and left the cave with an oath in the Irish accent, "Gu gabh an dioll thu!"[7] and called away his men from the nest of robbers.

The Marquis of Argyle, a greater politician than warrior, sent armed vessels to take the Irish ships in Loch Eishart. Had he not done so, the two thousand men, when disappointed in their expectations of meeting an army on the Scottish coast, would have returned home; the Marquis of Montrose would have lost his best support in the day of battle; and the Argyleshire men would not have been cowering under the heavy blows of Alasdair Mac-Cholla. The commander continued his march, in hopes of meeting with Montrose, of whose movements he was ignorant. Supposing him to be still at Carlisle, he intrusted letters for him to a confident friend, who found means to get them safely delivered. Montrose had written, advising him to keep up his spirits, and march with his men to Athole, where he might expect to meet the king's forces, and a commander. These despatches he dated at Carlisle.

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[6] Ceatharn Choille.

[7] May the devil take you.

Macdonald, passing through Badenoch, was threatened by the earls of Sutherland and Seaforth, and by the Frasers, Grants, Rosses, and Munroes, assembled on the top of Strathspey. He cautiously avoided them, and hastened into Athole, where he was coolly received, till the arrival of Montrose, who travelled seventy miles on foot, with his cousin Patrick and his guide.

When Montrose left the few forces with which he was to invade Scotland, he travelled as a servant, and came to Tullibelton. A shepherd, as he came from the hills, informed him that some Irishmen had landed on the west, and had advanced through the Highlands. These were the auxiliaries under Macdonald.

Montrose was received with great rejoicing in Athole. He and his two attendants were the army expected by Macdonald, who had fixed his quarters at Blair-Athole. The Marquis put himself at the head of the forces. The Stewarts and the Robertsons rose, and he soon had upwards of 2000 men under his command. Alexander Macdonald was his major-general. The Marquis descended on the country, and, on the 1st of September, overthrew a much larger force of the Scottish Estate, at Tippermuir. In this battle, Montrose commanded the right, and Macdonald, his major-general, the centre. The Irish only were armed with muskets. All the forces of Montrose did not amount to half the number of the Covenanters, drawn out on a muir, where the cavalry could act. He had none. Some of the Highlanders were unarmed. What were they to do? "My friends," said Montrose, in a familiar manner, and with an easy air, "won't you arm yourselves with these?" pointing to the stones on the field. They did so, and aimed so well, that riders were knocked off their horses, stripped of their armour, and new riders mounted, in the twinkling of an eye.

The Irish made great execution when they came within gun-shot, and having discharged their strong vollies, met the horse with the butt of their muskets. It was then that Macdonald, in the midst of the battle, mowed down heavy swaths of the enemy.

Montrose took possession of Perth, where he remained three days, expecting many to join him. He and his major-general had a narrow escape, when Stewart of Ardvorlich assassinated Lord Kilpont, who refused to join in the conspiracy.

Marching northward, they gained another victory at Aberdeen. As Macdonald has been generally represented as most cruel, it is but justice to describe some of his milder features. He was not behind Montrose in acts of clemency, when it was not absolutely necessary to be rigorous. Being sent to Aberdeen with 1000 Irish, and some troops, the Aberdonians were so much alarmed on account of the Irish, that they were preparing to leave the town. Macdonald soon relieved them of their fears, telling them, that 700 Irish he had left at the bridge of Dee, and at the Two-miles-Cross, would not enter the town. He showed the greatest respect for private property; a circumstance that gained him the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants of the town. Alexander, leaving Aberdeen to join Montrose, was but shortly on his way when he was overtaken by a messenger, who informed him, that the Irish had entered the town for plunder, and the inhabitants were in terror for their lives. Macdonald returned, and drove the Irish before him with sore bones.

The remainder of the harvest was spent in marches and counter-marches, for the purpose of gaining advantage over the Marquis of Argyle, who had been commissioned to suppress the insurrection.

Argyle laid waste all the northern counties that rose with Montrose, and the latter laid waste the counties of the Covenanters.

Early in December, when Argyle considered the campaign ended, he disbanded his forces, and retired to Edinburgh, to his parliamentary duties, where he received small thanks for what he had done.

Montrose thought of passing the winter in the Low Country; but the captain of Clanranald and Macdonald induced him to make a descent on the country of the Marquis of Argyle, in which proposal his people joined, that they might be avenged for all that they and their friends had suffered in the North. The Marquis of Argyle hastened to his castle of Inverary, ordered his men to assemble; but he omitted to guard the passes into the country, where a few could oppose the invaders. He imagined himself secure in his castle, till the enemy approached, and would have made him prisoner, were it not that some shepherds ran from the hills with intelligence; escaping in a fishing boat across Lochfine, he retreated to Dumbarton, leaving his men to the mercy of the invaders. It has been said they were slain; but their re-appearing again in a short time, and marching to Inverlochay's fatal battle, explains their disappearance. The Marquis of Montrose slew not men in cold blood; but he, the captain of Clanranald, and the major-general, dividing the men among them, overran the land of the clan Campbell with great devastation. As Alexander Macdonald and his Irish were the most active, and made most mischief, he had all the odium. It was alleged he had injuries to avenge. This was not so: his father was in friendship with individuals of the name in Argyleshire; but Alexander regarded all Campbells as enemies. He, however, was not indiscriminate in his proceedings. He endeavoured to ascertain the sentiments of the people, and know how far they were hostile to the cause which he had espoused.

One night a light from a window attracted him off his way to a house. He might have passed it unscaithed, but looking in, he heard a girl say, "Ah, how I would singe the head of Alasdair Mac-Cholla, instead of the head of the black wedder, in that low!" Her master, who was leaning on a bed, reprimanded her severely: "What harm hath the brave man done to thee?" "Thy words saved thee," said Alasdair, and walked off. Passing the vale of Glencoe, on the north-west of Lochawe, the inmates fled, and the house, deserted, was set on fire. Alasdair asked the name of the chief, and was told Macintyre. "Ah, he is of our own old blood; quench the flame." The half-burnt peat or turf that was taken from the thatch, was kept as a relict in the family of Macintyre of Glencoe. In January 1645, Montrose and all his forces left the desolated districts of Argyle and Lorn, and marched through Glencoe and Lochaber to take Inverness. He stopped some days at Fort-Augustus, to receive an accession to his forces. Meantime, the Marquis of Argyle having taken 1100 foot of an army that the Estates sent to dislodge Montrose from Argyleshre, concerted with the commander, Major-General Baillie, who was to lead the rest in a shorter way, to intercept the hostile army, while the Marquis of Argyle should follow in the rear. The latter called his men from their lurking places, and marched to Lochaber. Ian Lom, the bard, lost no time in going to Fort-Augustus with intelligence. His tale was so incredible, that Macdonald, to whom he addressed himself, threatened he would hang him immediately, were he deceiving him. "You may do so, Alasdair, if you find not the Marquis of Argyle and his men in Lochaber. Am I such a fool as to have ran all the way to give you false information, and be hanged for my trouble?"

The Marquis, by this time, heard of the forces of the Covenanters who were sent to drive him from Argyleshire, where they knew the people favourable to them were suffering, and believed they were really in the country of the Campbells which he left but a few days before. Having stationed men on the common road, to prevent persons going hither, who might carry news of his return, he, with his forces, returned by the north of the glen, more circuitous than the common road, which is thirty miles; but so rapid and secret was their motion, that they lay down that night in the vicinity of the Campbells, who thought they were the country people, gathered to protect their effects. The river Nevis only divided the two hostile armies.

The Marquis of Argyle, having previously called his kinsman, Campbell of Auchnabreck, from Ireland, where he served with reputation in the army, gave him the command of the forces, and retired to his vessel at a safe distance on the opposite side at Strone-chreggan, under the pretence, it was alleged, of having received a contusion of his foot.

Daylight dispelled the mistake under which the Campbells lay all night. It was seen that a battle would unavoidably ensue, in the absence of Baillie and his forces. The clan, though under the brave Campbell of Auchnabreck, were not a little disheartened when they understood their chief had retired into the *duluidneach*,[8] as the enemy contemptuously denominated the vessel, seen not far off.

Macdonald told the bard of Lochaber, a greater politician than hero, to prepare and go with him to the battle. The man of song was a coward, though he often instigated others to combat. He was now at his wits-end ; but durst not refuse Alasdair Mac-Cholla, who would hang a coward straight forth : still his wit served him, as at other times, on this occasion. " If thou, Alasdair, insist on my going to battle to-day, and I fall, who will sing thy praises to-morrow ; but go, and perform feats of valour, as usual, and I shall sing thy praises." " On my baptism, thou art right, John," was the reply.

On Sabbath-day, the 27th of February, 1645, was fought the battle of Inverlochay, which the poet saw from the top of the old castle, and of which he gives a most graphic description in his usual energetic language. The fight commenced at sunrise. The small river Nevis was easily passed. Macdonald poured his forces furiously on the Campbells. General Campbell had done all that could be expected from a brave commander; but no power could withstand the onslaught of Mac-Cholla; panic seized the clan, who felt disheartened at the beginning, and fled in every direction; those who looked to the vessel of their chief, fled along Locheil-side, and suffered awfully! Many of them were drowned crossing the swollen stream at Locheil-head, and more were cut down by the pursuers. Those who fled south were pursued seven miles over the muirs. The commander would not fly, but fought while any friends stood by him. He at last delivered his sword, hoping his life would be respected, and reminded Macdonald of the friendship that subsisted between his father and his relatives.

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[8] Black clumsy boat.

"I believe," returned the ruthless warrior, "that there was some intimacy between them, and on that account, thou shalt have thy choice of the sword or the halter." "The choice is bad enough," said the brave man, and he was cut down. The blood of Campbell of Auchnabreck, left an indelible stain on the memory of Alasdar Mac-Cholla, which all the actions of the hero could never wipe off.

So dreadful was the blow received by the Campbells at Inverlochay, that all their previous losses and sufferings were forgotten. Not a gentleman of the name, who stood by the commander returned to their homes.

The first shock given to an army is often the prelude to victory. Macdonald gave his opponents no time to breathe. Montrose was confessedly a great general, but his major-general was the working man. He alone is mentioned since the army marched from Fort-Augustus, till the final overthrow of the army at Lochay; but no mention is made of him in the despatches. Montrose was so elated with the success, as to have regarded the cause of the Covenanters subdued, and his letter to the king was full of exulting expressions. He took for granted that all Scotland was conquered. As might have been expected, his loss in men was comparatively small; but he lost one person of rank, Sir Thomas Ogilvie.

Montrose was unquestionably the greatest general, but Macdonald had not an equal in battle; and he was the right man at the head of the Irish and Highlanders. The bards forgot him not; many of them, as well as Ian Lom, sung the praises of the mighty man.

The retreat of the Marquis of Montrose with a handful of men from Dundee-law, in the face of a well-appointed army, merited the highest applause. His men enjoyed not a moment of rest during two days. He had taken one of the most considerable towns in the kingdom, where the men had given themselves to intoxication, and marched in that state sixty miles, with the enemy at their heels. This was the most splendid of Montrose's achievements; but then he had need of Macdonald, with all the assistance brought from the West.

At Aldearne, Montrose gave the standard to the major-general, who commanded the place behind the town. The most of his men were Irish. The commander of the hostile force, supposing Montrose to be where he saw the yellow standard, was determined to overwhelm him, and sent the best troops hither. They made a furious attack on Macdonald's party, about 400, who defended themselves bravely behind dykes and ditches. Though Macdonald was always allowed to be the bravest in battle, he was rash and fiery; not being able to bear the taunts of the enemy, he disregarded Montrose's instructions, and advanced to meet the foe. They poured upon him in a narrow lane, endeavouring to bring him down. He alternately catched the points of their spears on his large target, and cut down the foremost. On one occasion he sheered off five of their weapons with one stroke. He at last, having succeeded in getting his men back into the enclosure, except one who was pierced with several spears, and his tongue nailed to his cheek by an arrow; Macdonald at great personal hazard, went and dragged the wounded man within the wall. He was repulsed now and again, but still returned to the charge, till he got all his men within the enclosure, where he rallied them as on parade. In the battle of Aldearne, the Covenanters lost a great number, Montrose comparatively few. Many prisoners fell into his hands, the whole baggage, ammunition, and provision, with a considerable sum of money and valuable effects.

In the heat of the battle, Alexander Macdonald observed a man who was performing prodigies of valour. He kept his eye upon him, and after the engagement, enquired who he was. He was told he was a tinker: "Would to heaven," says he, "all the Athole men were tinkers this day."

The loss of the battle was attributed to an awkward motion of Captain Gordon, who was tried at Inverness, and hanged for treason. He admitted that he had spoken with the enemy after the battle commenced. It was fought on the 9th of May, 1645.

Montrose destroyed the houses and property of th Covenanters, and Major Baillie, on the other side, laid waste all that belonged to the Loyalists.

At the battle of Kilsythe, Macdonald had contributed most to the victory, but shared in none of the laurels. He bought 700 Macleans from the West. He appeared conspicuous at the head of the Highlanders, who rashly advanced, when the Ogilvies came seasonably to their support. But it was in the pursuit that Alasdair trampled on the fugitives; when the Marquis of Argyle ran twenty miles without looking over his shoulder, nor halted until he got on board a vessel!

After the battle of Kilsythe, Montrose dispatched his major-general with a strong force to Ayrshire, to disperse some levies that the Earls of Cassillis and Glencairn were raising. The Earls fled to Ireland, and the levies were disbanded. The people received Macdonald into great favour, and the Countess of Loudon embraced him in her arms, and received him into her castle.

Sir Robert Spottiswood was sent by the king, with a commission appointing Montrose his Majesty's Lieutenant-General for Scotland, and General of all the forces, with power to create knights. In a speech, Montrose praised the bravery of the whole army, and Macdonald in particular, on whom he conferred the honour of knighthood, in the presence of all, little thinking he was to part from him so soon. He was more obliged to him in his victories than he was ready to acknowledge; and, except the battle of Alford, when in the West for recruits, the major-general was present in them all.

Sir Alexander Macdonald, being sensible that he deserved more of the honours conferred on the Lieutenant-General of Scotland, withdrew, under pretence of going to avenge himself on the Campbells, for their ill usage of his father and friends. When he left the army of Montrose, his good fortune also left. Montrose, before they separated, remonstrated with Sir Alexander: he told him that their parting would be the ruin of them both; but the other well knew how he was reaping the harvest which he himself had earned.

While they so much differed, no two suited better in action. Nothing escaped the penetrating glance of the one; cool and intrepid, he was ready in taking advantage of any error or mishap of the enemy. The other was determined and bold in the extreme; nothing daunted him. Under no other commander would the Irish or the Highlanders have fought so well. In his impetuous career he afforded full play to the Celts. Had the two characters been combined in one person, it would have made a perfect general.

They parted on the 4th of September 1645. The Earl of Aboyn also left with his men, no doubt owing to the same cause. The Marquis had soon reason to repent of his selfishness. Sir Alexander Macdonald was followed by 300 Highlanders, the elite of Montrose's army, together with the choice of the Irish, as his body guard. The consequence was soon, and too well, seen at Philiphaugh, where Montrose met his first loss; nor was he any more victorious. The Argyleshire men hearing of Alasdair Mac-Cholla, the name by which he was always known in the West, coming to their country after the battle of Kilsythe, fled, to avoid his vengeance, and hid themselves in caves and clefts of the rocks; but, being compelled by want to leave their places of retreat, about two hundred of them followed Campbell of Ardkinlas, and attacked the Macnabs and Macgrigors, for favouring Montrose. Joined by the Stewarts and others, three hundred meditated an invasion of Athole.

General David Leslie, who distinguished himself at Marston-muir, arriving at Berwick, with a great body of troops, overthrew and completely routed the army of Montrose at Philiphaugh; after which no army could be levied in the North to oppose him. He returned to the West, all having submitted to his authority, or fled. Sir Alexander Macdonald, who entered the Campbell country at Loch Etive, visited all that bore that name, or were under their protection, with fire and sword. It was then that the circumstance took place, as related before, regarding Macintyre of Glencoe; which gives a lively picture of the extent of the respect that was paid in those days by a clansman to the ties of friendship. The Macintyres were originally descended from the Macdonalds, and lived from time immemorial, on the borders of the Campbell country, between the march of other clans. On the decline of this sept, after the battle of Harlaw, the Macintyres put themselves under the protection of the Campbells, who were increasing in power, and lived with them as followers.

The tide of fortune turned. Instead of taking vengeance on the Campbells for all the losses they brought on his people, Sir Alexander Macdonald saw it was time to leave the Campbell country, and join the Macdonalds of Cantire, ere General Leslie and his army should overtake him. On his retreat he stopped at the Miln of Gocum-go, pitched his standard, and ordered breakfast. While it was preparing, he walked before the house; his eye was attracted by a singular appearance, a conical mound of earth, that rose high on a marshy low ground, west of the miln.

"What is that called?" he demanded of the miller. "Gocum-go" was the reply. It was enough: he recollected the prophesy of his *muime,* which he had often heard repeated in his infancy. “March!” was the order, disregarding the preparation of breakfast. The strong man’s weak mind was paralyzed. Superstition has more power than reason on critical occasions.

Passing Loch-lean, on the top of the castle, half sunk in the centre, a man appeared, and aimed his large gun at Alasdair; he knew him, as well he might. The man next him fell. “You have been early soiled, friend;” alluding to an empty stomach on the first day of May. The man on the castle-top was reloading. “Step up the hillside,” commanded Alexander, “and avoid him,” and he thought no more of the man who fell.

Passing toward the peninsula of Cantire, there was then but one narrow path along the rocky shore of Strone-Dubhan, below Slea’-Gaoil; here Macdonald ought to have made a stand, and defy all the hostile forces in the kingdom; but he only thought of the prediction, and believed his victories were past. He went on his way, leaving the path open to the enemy.

Sir Alexander Macdonald, being joined by the clans in the South and Isles, made all the preparations in his power to give battle. It was the last in which he engaged in Scotland, and the only unfortunate one, the day of Dunaverty, fought 25th May 1647, at Rhue-na-Aoirin, in the parish of Kilean.

In the heat of the engagement, Sir Alexander and Zachair-Mor of Poltalloch met; they were the best swordsmen in the West. “Change sides,” says the former; “we ought to be friends.” “No, Alasdair.” The Macdonalds struck him behind; he fell on his knee, but seven of them fell by his sword, ere he was slain.

The Macdonalds gave way. They retreated to Dunaverty. Sir Alexander Macdonald put his kinsman, Archibald Macdonald of Sanda, and his son Angus Og, with three hundred men, into the fortress; sent his own father and the rest to Islay; he himself fled to Ireland in a fishing-boat.

Sir Alexander did not long survive the destruction of the Royal cause in Scotland. Having joined the troops of Lord Taffe, he was taken prisoner by two soldiers of the Parliamentary party, who discovered his rank, and disputed about the reward they expected for capturing a royalist of so great importance. Rather than yield the one to the other, they put him to death. This happened at a place called Glenlusart, the year he left Scotland. The Marquis of Argyle, and a vast number of his men, joined General Leslie, who invested the castle, which was gallantly defended against ten times the number of the besiegers, till the water that supplied them through pipes was cut off. The garrison was obliged to surrender in the month of July, at the mercy of the state. The men were all put to the sword.

Leslie crossed over to Islay, and, promising honourable terms to the defenders of Dunaoveig, who were also in want of water, they surrendered, and shared the same fate.

Colla-Ciotach was sent to the castle of Dunstaffnage, where he was confined, till tried and executed in 1647. His friend, Captain Campbell, allowed him every possible indulgence. This reached the ears of the Marquis, who threatened him with his displeasure, were he to allow his prisoner to escape. Captain Campbell happened to be at Inverary. Persons were sent by the Marquis to Dunstaffnage, to ascertain whether the prisoner was well guarded. Captain Campbell, getting notice of this, sent a trusty man, who outran the others, and, coming in sight of the castle, called aloud, "Col in irons! Col in irons!" The warning was given in time. Col was at large, superintending the shearers of corn; he ran into his dungeon, and put on the irons before the messengers of the Marquis arrived.

At his trial he was asked by the laird Maclean of Ardgour, who was one of the jury, "whether he was present at the battle of Inverlochay?" "By my baptism I was, carle, and was of more service there than you was." He knew him well, and knew too he was engaged on the same side; but Maclean changed sides in time to save himself.

Coll was found guilty, as might have been expected, and was hanged from the mast of his own boat, laid across the cliff of a rock. He suffered without dismay. His last request was to dig his grave so near to Captain Campbell's, as that they might exchange their snuff-boxes.

Coll-Ciotach was in friendship with some of the Campbells of Argyle, though he was narrowly watched by others. On one occasion, as he was sailing into the bay of Crinan, his piper, who was then at the castle of Duntroon, well aware of his danger, were he to land, played on the point of the rock, the noble strains, "A Cholla mo run seachain an tur, tha mise an laimh;" My dear, noble chief, avoid the castle; I am prisoner. Coll heard him, and bore away. His enemies also understood the warning, and the faithful piper was made to suffer for his attachment to his chief.

NOTES.

BATTLE OF LONCARTY, page 101.

" The Danes, re-animated with indignation, spite, and revenge, exerted the utmost vigour of their strong nerves and large bones; they broke through, and put to the rout both the right and left wing of the Scots army, and the main body, where the king fought in person, was very nigh enveloped, and must have been entirely cut off, but for the stupendous action of one Hay, and his two sons; who, placing themselves in a convenient pass, beat back the flyers, and so turned the wheel of fortune, never more deservedly called inconstant than upon this occasion. This Hay was at the time employed in tilling a field, at no great distance from the two armies; but how soon he perceived that the Scots were flying, he left his work, and, animated with indignation and rage, he bethought himself of an expedient to prevent the ruin and disgrace of his country, that all ages will ever admire and extol. He armed himself and his two sons, men, like himself, of extraordinary strength and incomparable courage, with their plough yokes, (it seems they had no other weapons at hand, or thought these the fittest, because heaviest,) and, having reproached the foremost of those that fled, and perhaps prevailed with some to return, he placed them and himself in the narrow pass, through which he knew the remainder of the worsted army must flee, and as they advanced, he met, and knocked them down unmercifully with his mighty yoke, insomuch that he put a stop to their flight, and the Scots, thus equally mauled by, and in a manner pent up between, their friends and foes, knew not what to do: if they continued to fly, they must needs encounter, as they imagined, fresh forces of the prevailing enemy; and if they should face about again, they must re-engage men, animated, but at the same time wearied and fatigued, by victory. They thought fittest to turn upon the pursuers, and did it accordingly. The Danes in their turn, surprised with this sudden and unexpected change they knew not the occasion of, concluded, and it is no wonder, that the Scots army must be reinforced with some considerable accession of a fresh power. This persuasion damped their courages, and they fled as hastily as they had pursued. By this time the heroic Hays came up to the main body of the army, and every one became acquainted with what they had done, so that the Scots, now apprehensive of no more enemies but those they had in their view pursued their advantage with incredible alacrity, and most, of not all the Danes, fell victims to their just revenge.

* * * * * *

"The astonishing event of the Battle of Loncarty transported the whole nation with wonder and joy; and the army spent the ensuing night in mirth and rejoicing; in singing the praises of their glorious king, and in extolling the admired valour and resolution of Hay, their deliverer. Nobody was more sensible of his services than the king. That grateful prince rewarded him as he deserved; for he first ordered a large share of the enemies' spoil to be given to him, and then commanded him and his sons to march by himself in a triumphant manner, with their bloody yokes, at the head of the army, into the town of Perth. He did more: for as the great achievement had already enobled both Hay and his sons, so the king advanced them into the first rank of those about him, and, which was very rare in those days, gave them in heritage as much of the most fruitful soil of Gowry as a falcon could compass at one flight. The lucky bird seemed sensible of the merits of those that were to enjoy it, for she made a circuit of seven or eight miles long, and four or five miles broad, the limits of which are still extant, as from this tract of ground, called Errol, as then, the brave, loyal, and in every sense illustrious family of Errol, takes its designation; so it retains the surname of Hay, upon the account of its original author."—ABERCROMBY.

In commemoration of the battle of Loncarty, the family of Errol bear three escutcheons or shields, having for supporters two men in country habits, each holding an ox yoke over his shoulder; and a falcon for crest.

BATTLE OF PANBRIDE, page 115.

"The action lasted long, and the slaughter was incredible; insomuch that, as the Lochty, a rapid rivulet in that country, was thought to have conveyed more blood than water into the sea; so it is certain, that the field of battle, though dry and sandy, was visibly wet, and everywhere humected with human gore; and no wonder, since many, though mortally wounded with darts, which they could not, or scorned to draw out of their bowels, were nevertheless observed to catch hold of their adversaries, with whom they would never part, till the killed and killers fell both at once, and breathed their last, as it were, in mutual embraces. * * * *

"At last the Scots prevailed, and Camus fled towards the mountains he saw at a distance, hoping, if he could reach them, to be free from any further pursuit, and so to make the best of his way to his countrymen in Moray; but he was overtaken within about two miles from the place where the two armies had first engaged, and, together with all that attended him, cut off. * * *

"As on other occasions, so here, many Scotsmen performed those things that should have immortalized their names, yet only one is recorded, the valiant Keith, a youth so eminently deserving, that his noble services were afterwards rewarded with a barony of lands in Lothian, and his posterity, who to this day have not degenerated from their ancestors' glories, are still dignified with the hereditary title and office of Marshals of Scotland. To him the present Earl Marshal, and the other branches that have sprung from his illustrious family owe their name and honours."—ABERCROMBY.

Our heraldic writers narrate, that young Keith, who was called Robert, was a chieftain among the Catti,—hence the surname of Keith; that he and his followers were very instrumental in gaining the battle of Panbridge, or St Bride; and that Camus was killed by the hands of Robert; which King Malcolm perceiving, dipped his finger in the blood of the slaughtered Dane, and drew three red strokes, or pales, on the top of Robert's shield, which have ever since been the armorial figures of his descendants.

MACBETH, page 123.

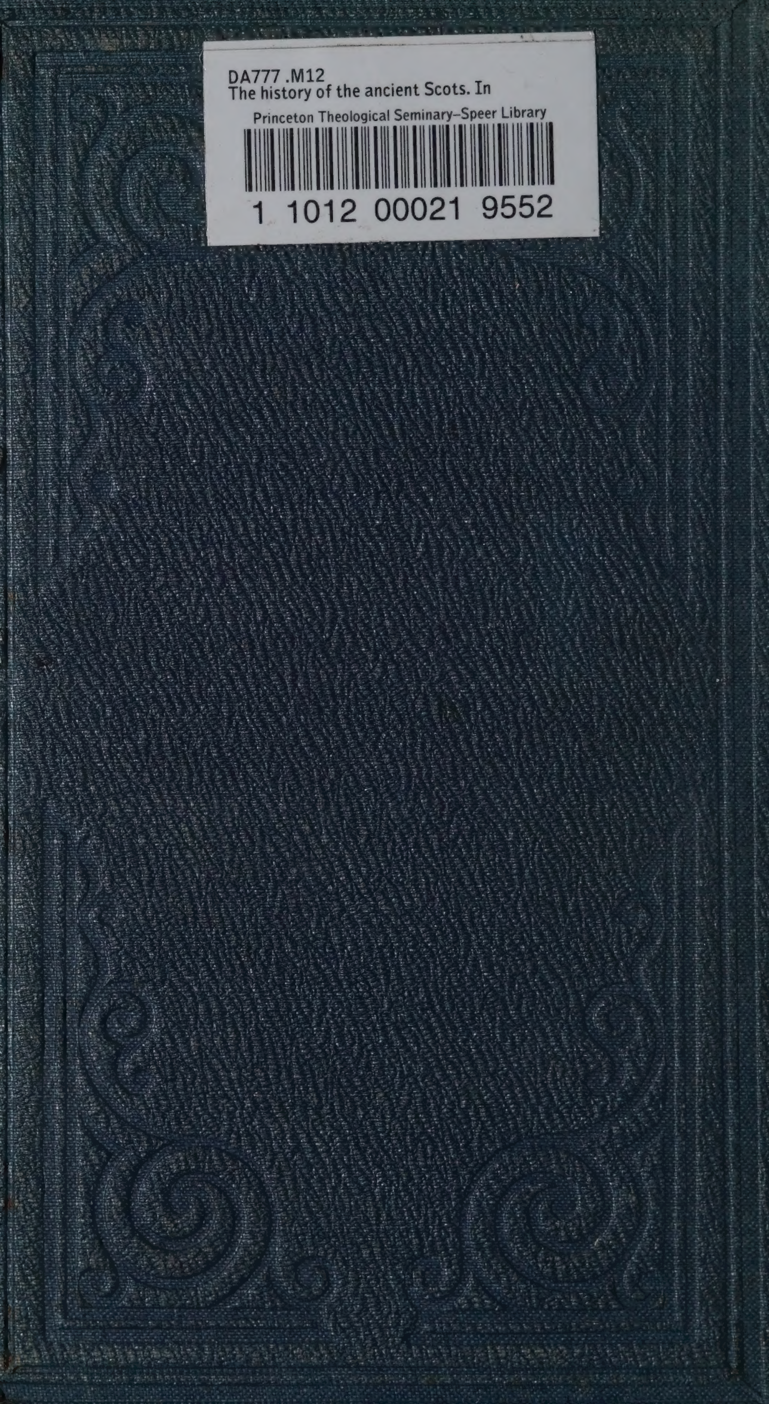
"Macbeth and Bancho were on their road to Forress, where the court was at the time, and while, for their diversion, they wandered through the fields and woods that lay in their way, they were all on a sudden surprised with the appearance of three women, tall and beautiful, beyond what could be expected from common humanity. All three made up to Macbeth, and saluted him respectively; the first, by the appellation of thane of Angus, (that title and office he was possessed of at the time;) the second, by that of thane of Moray; and the third, in fine, pronounced him king. Macbeth made no return to the amazing compliments; but Bancho quarrelled their disregard of him, who, while they heaped such flatteries on his friend, prognosticated nothing in behalf of himself. Nay, replied the one, to you the fates are yet more propitious; Macbeth shall reign, but his sons shall not; from Bancho shall descend a race of kings. And with these words they all vanished.

"I [Abercromby] do not relate this story as a truth not to be controverted; I know not what the devil may do, if God permits; and how far God Almighty may providentially allow that accursed spirit to juggle with human senses, I shall not inquire. Whether this was a dream, as Buchanan, to render the thing more credible, affirms; or a real vision, as Boethius would have us to believe; or a fabulous prediction, not invented till verified by the event, I am as little able to determine."—ABERCROMBY.

In narrating the chief events which occurred during the reigns of the several kings, we have rejected altogether, or taken but little notice of the fabulous or superstitious stories in which our old historians take such delight, and are so careful to hand down to posterity. From Holbein, who revels in the supernatural, our greatest dramatic poet has taken the plot of Macbeth, and given it such a gloss of reality, as makes it pass for history. The account of Macbeth's interview with the weird sisters, as they have been styled, is more sensibly narrated by Winton, in his "*Chronicls.*"

"A nycht he thoucht, in his dremyng,
That sittande he was beside the kyng.—
He thoucht, quhil he was sa syttande,
He saw thre women cum by gangande;
And tha women, than thoucht he,
Thre werd systyris most lyk to be;
The fyrst he herd say, gangande by,
'Lo, yonder the thayne of Crumbachy!'
The tother woman said agayn,
'Of Murray yonder I se the thayn!'
The thrid than said, 'I se the kyng!'
—All this he herde IN HIS DREMYNG."

THE END.



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